The Commonweal

A Weekly Review of Literature, The Arts and Public Affairs

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WHO SHALL CONTROL OUR MONEY?

WHEN what is called a "conservative" newspaper delivers an editorial pronouncement which it considers unusually important, it often adopts the typographical device of "double-leading" the lines of type in which it enshrines (or embalms) its solemn, its pontifical, language. (We mark what we mean by double-leading our own less important and less polysyllabic words.)

Sensational papers scream, so to speak, their opinions and judgments by printing SOME WORDS in CAPITAL LETTERS.

But of course the "conservative" papers won't do anything so freakish. Dignity must be preserved. So they simply let the white paper show more strongly between the lines; depending, no doubt, very properly, more upon the strength of the argument presented, and the literary style in which it is displayed, than upon the tricks of typography.

For instance, that incorrigibly "conservative" journal, the New York *Herald Tribune,* in its leading editorial article for February 8, thus puts forward its views on President Roosevelt and the public works bill. The article is entitled, "Left or Right, It Is Not American," and it is double-leaded throughout.

One result of this method of achieving emphasis, naturally, is to cause readers to attempt to read between the lines more attentively than they ordinarily do. And it seems quite obvious to us, at least, that between the lines, as well as in the lines themselves, of the *Herald Tribune's* article, we can discern some of the facts which tend to prove that (as we have long thought) it is the money issue that is sharply emerging out of the welter and confusion of our economic crisis as the

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supreme problem: the question as to who shall control the decisive power of financial credit in this nation. Shall it be the nation itself, through its executive or representative leaders, or both? Or shall it continue to be the anonymous, irresponsible, more or less secret groups of speculators, bankers and corporation managers who today possess that power, as they have for years?

As the *Herald Tribune* says very justly: "To control the public and private purse strings of a nation is to control the nation itself." And it considers that "the grant of power to the President contained in his draft of the $4,880,000,000 public works bill, coupled with the legislation designed to wreck the existing Federal Reserve Bank and place the entire banking capital of the nation at the command of the President, is such a colossal extension of executive power as to dim every other issue."

We agree with the *Herald Tribune* that "to control the public and private purse strings of a nation is to control the nation itself." But when it says that "whether the sort of government exemplified in these new bills looks to the Left or to the Right, it is not American," we cannot agree, or disagree, until or unless our agitated neighbor will explain what it means by "Left or Right," and what it means by "American." It tells us that the proposed legislation "cannot be installed without making nonsense of the American Constitution. Under it the Federal System would become a mockery and a sham."

But *does* the Constitution establish and unquestionably support the proposition that the American system of government and the American economic method must, and should, rest upon the right of private individuals "to control the public and private purse strings of [this] nation," and thus "control the nation itself"?

We think that between the lines of the *Herald Tribune's* article—as between the lines of what so many other so-called conservative newspapers say about the money issue—we can read the implicit assumption that, in fact, and rightly so, the power over money and credit does and should belong to "those gentlemen to whom Providence, in Its inscrutable wisdom, has entrusted the property interests of this country," to quote the words made famous by Mr. George Baer about a quarter of a century ago. A great many other gentlemen—although in their totality they make only a tiny minority of the people at any time—(including some who are not gentlemen by any definition of that ambiguous term) agree with the late Mr. Baer. They may not all share that departed gentleman's beautiful if pragmatic faith in Providence as the power which has entrusted them and their kind with the control of the nation's property interests. Most of them are rugged individualists, and have faith only in themselves (and their lawyers)—but they do believe that it is at least a law of nature (whatever nature's Creator may have decreed) that property and power belong rightfully to those who can grasp and hold them, and that the rest of the nation will prosper best under that dispensation of things. For this is *laissez-faire;* this is the supreme law of the system which has prevailed for the last seventy years; and to such men (and their lawyers, and their dependents and hangers-on, and their press, and the professional economists who justify the system by irrefragable logic deducted from the axioms of Adam Smith) it seems to be 100-percent American—resting solidly upon the Constitution, and upheld by all the truly conservative principles of a successful and perfect civilization.

But is such a philosophy really the most integrally American that can be held, and put into effect? Does the Constitution, when interpreted not in the confused light of conflicting ideas about "Right or Left," which lack any reference to any standard, acceptable to all logical minds, by which "Right or Left" can be determined, but interpreted, as it should be, in the clear light of the moral law which determines not "Right or Left" but Right or Wrong—does the Constitution really uphold the claims of private persons to control the nation's wealth and thus control the nation's life?

Or does this nation—or any other nation—itself possess the inherent right to control its money and credit, for the best interests of all the nation? Is this not the truly conservative doctrine? Did it not prevail in days before the doctrine of unrestricted individualism rose to power? Has not the people the just right to place the control of that power over money in the hands of these natural rulers, their own legitimate government? Is not such a view American by an older, and far more conservative, title to consideration than the nineteenth-century view of the problem? At any rate—and here we entirely agree with the *Herald Tribune*—this is the outstanding issue now before the nation for debate.

Week by Week

TASTING a little more of a new era of doubt, the nation watched President Roosevelt struggle for control of the billions to be spent on public works. The somewhat inchoate bill was under sharp fire at senatorial meetings, chief among varied sources of disagreement being the "security wage rates" which the administration recommends. As the week closed, the Senate had sponsored an amendment calling for "prevailing wages"; and the

The Trend of Events

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American Federation of Labor, fearing that private industry would seek to follow the lead of the government, had inaugurated a vigorous campaign against the proposed $50 a month pay schedule. Other parts of the measure were likewise under debate, and at least two senators carried the whole problem of security over into the terrain of monetary policy. Indeed this policy remained first on the list of questions which fascinate Washington. Once more the Supreme Court postponed rendering a decision in the gold cases. Sentiment began, however, to veer round to the conviction that whatever the language of the Court might be, it would not bar the route to endorsement of measures already taken by the administration or to adoption of such similar steps as may be thought necessary. Most observers felt that further recourse to devaluation would prove unavoidable. On the other hand, the influence of those who hold that readjustment must be sought through lowering of interest rates and curtailment of fixed charges was visibly growing. It was pointed out, for example, that the major railroad systems would be in good financial shape and able to meet reasonable wage demands by their employees if the interest rates on outstanding bonds could be cut in half.

MORE sensational, no doubt, were the proposals to alter the laws governing the Federal Reserve system. The news was greeted with jubilation by those who feel that the country is a patient suffering from asphyxiation, and that money is oxygen which the government must pump out in unlimited quantities; and it was received with alarm by those who believe that political control of the nation's credit is being sought by those whose program of "meet debt with debt" will land us all in the insane asylum of inflation. As a matter of fact, the measure—though it is no model of lucid English prose—reads like a characteristic Roosevelt compromise. It satisfies all those who think that the existing banking laws do not provide adequately centralized control of the system, and from this point of view conforms with desires of long standing even in conservative circles. On the other hand, the measure does tie the banks to the government in a fashion hitherto unprecedented. As it reads, the document sent to Congress seems to give the President virtual control of the central steering committee, thus to a certain extent answering the prayers of those who advocate the nationalization of banking. If passed as written, therefore, this law would give Mr. Roosevelt considerable leeway, for weal or woe as the case might be. One concludes that the nation has herewith moved another step toward an apparently inevitable show-down, which alone can make it certain whether or not our traditional democratic institutions, abetted by natural forces, can meet the social challenge of the hour, and whether or not all things done so far have been mere preludes to a more authoritarian rule than we have known thus far in our history.

ANY SURVEY of European events during the past year will have to begin with the gallant fight to save and strengthen the League of Nations as the central consultative body in Europe which British statesmen have waged with tenacity and remarkable skill. It is now seen that Japan's withdrawal was hardly the great disaster which it appeared to be. The Nipponese are up to their necks in Chinese and Russian entanglements, which may lead to serious trouble at almost any moment. Potentially, of course, the existing unrest is subject to gradual abatement; but if turmoil does begin, the League will be only a spectator without the obligation to prevent a war. Just now its problem is Europe, and more specifically Germany. If the Hitler government can be constrained to come back to Geneva, the importance of that city will be proved greater than it seemed to be even in the days of Briand and Stresemann. For the return would make Germany a partner to pacts which, under the conditions of modern warfare, amount to a stiffening in very concrete form of the sanctions employable by the League against an aggressor nation. During the immediate future at least the air war agreements will be as good as gold, so that if Germany carried out the fantastic scheme of invading France by flying across Switzerland it would find a solid phalanx of powers arrayed in opposition. Should Hitler refuse to accept the invitation, the result would of course be a European defense alliance against him with headquarters at Geneva. The League would then be simply anti-German. Such is the master conception of British diplomacy, which already has to its credit the internationalization of the Austro-German and the Hungarian-Jugoslavian disputes, the outcome of the Saar controversy, and the improvement of relations between Italy and France. These things would have been impossible without the League, which in turn has benefited immensely from everything that has occurred.

Up to Germany

A POIGNANTLY revealing instance of the meanness of the tyrant of Mexico and his son is afforded by a little bit of their recent personal history. This may seem like *ad personam* argument or hitting a man when he is down. But events in Mexico are principally the result of the personal adventure of the man on horseback, the man of violence, and the fact that he has been temporarily down offers an

Sick Tyranny

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interesting parallel to the condition of his poor people who are down, who are defenseless people of peace and too poor to avail themselves of the civilized advantages he can enjoy. The man on horseback proceeds on the false logic of the old aphorism that the man of peace cannot avail against the man of violence, that human consideration must inevitably be helpless against non-consideration. In a limited sense this is true. The principal difference between a barbarian, a vandal, an irresponsibly stupid person and a civilized, a cultured, a decently intelligent person, is in the recognition of the limitations of the aphorism. The barrage of socialistic and communistic promises which the tyrant has thrown up does not obscure the essential fact that he started as a poor school teacher, without lands, and is now one of the richest men, if not the richest man, in Mexico, while his people remain abjectly poor and their tenure, not only of a little private property, but of life itself, remains abjectly insecure. The interesting thing is that the rich Calles, when he was sick, took an airplane to Los Angeles to the hospital conducted by the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, and his son, Rodolfo, who, as Governor of Sonora, closed the Sisters' hospital, along with other particularly oppressive persecutions of the Faith and charity, took the room next to his father so that he too, being sick, could receive the gentle care of the Sisters. So tyrants enjoy mercy which they have denied to the suffering of their people.

Catholic Lecturers

LECTURING has been variously construed. To some it looks very like the automobile which a breathless fox terrier chases down the street—the limousine being, of course, culture, and the dog, you or I. Others consider it the book come alive, and then quote eloquently everything Milton said about books. We shall not dwell on this contrast of views. It simply appears obvious that when regarded from the peculiar perspective of Catholic life in the United States the business of lecturing has a real and often unnoticed significance. What is our collective culture if not something struggling toward birth—some organic consciousness still so hidden by the leaves of autumn and the snows of winter that most of us cannot quite make up our minds whether it is really there or whether we are seeing things? And what is the lecturer but the vivifier, the revealer, who brings from one place to another the glad tidings of a vigor which is stirring in countless places and in continuous time-sequence, though none of us can survey it as a whole? Institutions and associations therefore rightly make sacrifices to render the contact between lecturer and audience possible. The individual speaker may be no Saint Paul, no Cardinal Newman. But he represents some one effort in the vast universe of humanistic concern in our time. He has done some work humbly in the light of the Faith, which throws his shadow into relief. Therefore it is decidedly to the good that this year has marked a revival of Catholic lecturing. England and France have sent some distinguished men; one or the other authority has come from Germany. But it is peculiarly interesting to see that voices native to America, and very especially those of younger men and women, are getting a real and wholesome chance. Here the newer organizations which have sprung into active being—the Catholic Alumni Federation, the Catholic Poetry Society and others—have done excellent work. They have provided audiences as well as persons capable of being interested.

Filming the Classics

DICKENSIANS and movie fans will agree with the recent praise given by THE COMMONWEAL'S dramatic editor to the picture, "David Copperfield." But now that the first delight is over, that justice has been done to the fine type casting and the generally excellent performances, we wonder whether minor dissenting voices will not be heard. We ourselves raise one herewith. We confess that passionate addiction to Dickens the test of which is set by Mr. Chesterton (leader of all contemporary addicts) as the uncontrollable reeling off of long paragraphs verbatim in any Dickensian argument. But it is not merely for addicts that we speak when we state our feeling that Mr. Walpole's adaptation, in the main a loving and intelligent job, lapsed quite definitely in one major case and several minor ones. We do not blame him for not putting on the screen the magically unifying atmosphere which makes of the diversities in "David Copperfield" a single whole, and a true symbol of individual life; for that no one could do. We do not blame him for omitting Traddles, Rosa Dartle, the Old Soldier, Spenlow and Jorkins, Mrs. Crupp and still other immortal figures; for cutting was obviously necessary. But we do blame him for bridging the gaps with inventions of his own. We do not believe he had the right to place Steerforth in Dr. Strong's school instead of Mr. Creakle's, or to give Dora's supper party to Miss Trotwood instead of Traddles. And doubly and trebly he had not the right to alter all the circumstances of David's meeting with Dora —bringing in Steerforth as intermediary (though Dickens's true artistic instinct kept Steerforth and Dora apart), in a ruse that, however innocent, Dickens would never have thought of and David would never have used. So great a book by so great a writer is sacred. Every part of it belongs to the ages unchanged—something we are sure Mr. Walpole himself well knows.

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THE VATICAN AND NATIONALISM

By GEORGE SELDES

"The great problem for the Vatican today," writes Mr. Seldes, "is Statolatry." Growing nationalist and Fascist sentiment in Europe has first of all endangered the status of Catholic teaching on war, social justice, liberty of conscience and other subjects. In addition it has led to a series of conflicts with newly established dictatorial governments, the most important instances being Italy and Germany. The anomalous situation in Austria is another case in point. Other situations will be discussed next week.—The Editors.

THE VATICAN is opposed to the new nationalism, but Europe becomes more and more nationalistic every year. The Pope is opposed to militarism and Europe is arming for many wars. The corporative or totalitarian state, the monopoly of youth, the subjugation of the individual, are abhorrent to the Pope and have been denounced in encyclicals and letters to the bishops, but Germany and Austria have copied the Duce's plan and Spain moves quickly toward Fascism, or a civil war which will be followed by either a radical or a reactionary dictatorship. Events, movements and trends on the Continent are causing anxiety and alarm in the Vatican because they foreshadow conflict with the spiritual leadership and the political directives of the Church. In Germany, Austria, Hungary, Spain, the Vatican today exerts itself in *realpolitik* as well as spiritual mysticism; it faces the double problem, a state dealing with other states whose new policies antagonize its own and must be tempered, adjusted, reconciled, compromised.

The great problem for the Vatican today is Statolatry. The worship of the State, the introduction of mysticism, of fanaticism, which raises the State above its people, which tends "to monopolize completely the young, from their tenderest years up to manhood and womanhood, for the exclusive advantage of a party and of a régime based on an ideology which clearly resolves itself into a true, a real pagan worship of the State"—this movement which began in Russia in 1917 and which has overwhelmed Mohammedan as well as Christian nations, is denounced by Pius XI in his encyclical, "Non abbiamo bisogno," of June 29, 1931, which Monsignor Spellman of Boston smuggled into France to escape Mussolini's censorship. Since then Germany and Austria have come within its strictures, and Spain prepares to enter.

The ideas of dictatorship, Fascism, state-worship, nationalism, militarism, are triumphing in continental Europe and gaining in England. The Vatican policies of internationalism, peace, disarmament, the claim to liberty of the Church in educating youth and first allegiance from the individual and mass consciences, deny totally the ideologies of dictators and would-be dictators. The Vatican has had to stretch the encyclical of Leo XIII on adaptation to the genius of nations, and "Dilectissimi nobis" of Pius XI on "accommodating itself to all forms of government" in dealing with the new and again dangerous situations on the Continent.

The conflict between the Catholic Church and the German government follows the strategy and parallels the events of the triangular war between Mussolini, Don Sturzo and the Vatican a decade earlier. It was in 1923 that the Pope, to save Catholicism, sacrificed the Catholic party, and in 1929 the sweet fruit of this action was the Lateran treaty, while in 1931 the sour second crop was the dispute over Catholic Action.

In all things Hitler has been condensing Mussolini's Fascist history. The impatient Fuehrer could not wait a year to destroy the antagonistic Catholic political leader, three years to smash the opposition political parties, five years to announce a corporative or totalitarian state, ten years to achieve even the rudimentary framework of such a state. Economic pressure gallops over Germany like an apocalyptic horseman. Hitler orders the Fascist state to begin functioning at once. No one, priest or politician, must stand in the middle of the road. There is no time to waste.

It must not be forgotten that it was the Catholic party, or Centrum, which indirectly brought on the dictatorship. This party, because it held to the same principles which triumphed over Bismarck, refused in the February before the 1933 elections to commit itself to one year's "toleration" of Hitler in the Reichstag. Monsignor Kaas, head of the party, insisted that the dissolution of the parliament was illegal, that the Centrum had not been consulted, that it therefore placed itself with the Opposition. Almost immediately afterward the Nazis assaulted Adam Stegerwald, and the Centrum made an official plea to President Hindenburg to safeguard its liberty.

It was therefore Catholic refusal to support a dictatorship which resulted in Hitler's various measures to make the March election a mandate for dictatorship. Monsignor Kaas, in other words, was the champion of political liberty, as Don Sturzo had been against Mussolini.

The intensity of the March campaign against the Centrum is hysterically shown in the campaign

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address of Robert Wagner, Fascist Reich commissioner for Baden, who told the Nazis: "Among the Catholics exist those miserable creatures who for fourteen years forced the German people into misery and impotence. If the agitation continues, I will not shoot the Centrists, I will hang them." The day preceding the election Hitler repeated the famous remark of George III and Mussolini: "Who is not with me, is against me." The only active opposition came from Catholic leaders and the Catholic press.

On July 3, 1933, the Centrum dissolved itself, and Cardinal Pacelli, the Papal Secretary of State, reassured German Catholics they were not being deserted by the Vatican. In the same way that the Vatican substituted the Catholic League for the Partito Popolarie of Italy, it proposed the Germans league themselves in social and moral activities, rather than political opposition. Catholicism was to be saved from Hitler as it had been from Mussolini.

Again the Italian conflict over the youth organizations and the activities of the League was repeated within a few months. The concordat which Italy made seven years after the advent of Fascism, was achieved in the first year of Hitlerism, and the conflict over the new *modus vivendi* which followed in two years in Italy, arrived in Germany in almost as many months. How, in a totalitarian state to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's—in other words, to pay tribute and allegiance to two forces which claim the right of entire control of humn activities—cannot be settled with mere treaties.

Thus in 1925, the year before the disappearance of the free press in Italy, Il Piccolo stated the problem in this way: "We cannot live on good terms with both God and the Duce. Christianity and Fascism are absolute antipodes. The choice therefore for good Catholics of Italy is, love or violence, Christ or Mussolini." And on Good Friday, 1934, Monsignor Nicholas Bares, Catholic Bishop of Berlin, preaching that "no opponent has ever conquered the Church of Christ," that despite "sorrow and suffering imposed upon it . . . the Church will triumph over its foes," concluded, "The world cannot live without truth and justice; there is no middle course between Christ and anti-Christ."

So it has come about that revolver shots have been fired into the Munich home of Cardinal Faulhaber and that the Pope, in order to save the Primate in Germany from vulgar arrest, has made him a diplomatic envoy of the Vatican. Meanwhile 200 priests have been arrested and thousands of Catholic political officials and leaders ousted from their positions or jailed or maltreated physically. The concordat, which the Church accepted in fear of the nationalization of the Church or perhaps a *gleichschaltung* which would have incorporated it with the new Nazi church, has now resulted in a climax. Although the Catholic political party is outlawed, and Catholic labor unions crushed, Catholic youth is still active in its powerful societies, and Catholic clubs, charities, relief work, welfare societies and schools have continued to function. Especially the latter. Catholic Action remains for the Pope "the apple of my eye." To it, to Catholic youth, and to Catholics who are in opposition to Hitler the Pope in his Easter message of 1934 said:

"Despite all the hardships through which Providence is leading you and in the face of propaganda working with allurements and with pressure for a new outlook on life which points away from Christ and back into paganism, you have your pledge of love and loyalty to the Saviour and His Church. . . . We are aware of the situation of Catholic youth in Germany and we all know also that this causes great anxiety among your bishops. Let your organizations know at all events that their cause is our cause."

In Austria the struggle between Clericals and Marxists began the day the empire was overthrown. It was complicated naturally by all the political circumscriptions and the economic absurdities which the peace treaty imposed upon the nation. Vienna was Socialist and the countryside conservative; Vienna was anticlerical and the land intensely Catholic. The country, agrarian, Catholic, conservative, was opposed to the city, industrial, Socialist, anticlerical, in parliament, in the Heimwehr versus the Schutzbund, in thinking and in action.

The first important climax of this antagonism was the 1927 uprising. It failed because the Catholic Heimwehr began marching on the capital. The burning of the Palace of Justice was the work of 200 or 300 Communists who in accordance with Third International instructions got control of the mob of 50,000 Socialists. But Monsignor Seipel was convinced of the danger of "Bolshevism" and allied himself with the Heimwehr. From that time on the Heimwehr marched, well armed, well supplied with money, and under powerful leaders. In October, 1927, Seipel blessed the Heimwehr and on November 1, 1928, openly became its Fuehrer.

Seipel had a grandiose idea. He was willing to establish a Heimwehr dictatorship, he did not object to the restoration of the Hapsburgs under Prince Otto, but these were but small incidents toward the creation of a great central bloc of Catholic states. "Austrichelieu," as he was called, dream of a Catholic Austria, a Catholic Hungary, a union with Catholic Slovakia, with Catholic Croatia, perhaps even with that Transylvania torn from the side of Hungary, and in the course of years, union with Catholic Ba-

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varia. He hoped to become the statesman who had created a new Holy Roman Empire.

In 1928, when Monsignor Seipel, who had resigned from the government, planned to return to Vienna at the head of his Heimwehr, a journalist representing a Philadelphia morning and a New York evening newspaper, warned his friend and old associate in the European labor movement, Arthur Henderson, of what impended. Interpellations in the House of Commons on the secret arming of the Heimwehr, echoed in the Chambre des Députés, and in a moment the *coup d'état* was sidetracked. England and France insisted on disarmament and warned about loans. Seipel, however, continued planning. To further his scheme in Hungary, where he favored Otto rather than the two ruling Calvinists, Regent Horthy and Premier Bethlen, he inspired the naming of Dr. Justinian Seredi as Primate of the nation. In 1930, he became Foreign Minister. The Heimwehr, under Prince Ernst Ruediger von Stahremberg, at this time announced its program of Fascism, anti-Semitism, monarchism and clericalism.

Seipel died too soon to see the results of all his planning. The Heimwehr, which he might have led as an army to establish the Danubian Catholic state, now divided, the clerical wing supporting Chancellor Vaugoin's Christian Socialist party, the nationalist wing supporting the Hitler movement. Of Seipel himself it must be said that his actions were those of a free citizen: he did not represent the Church or prejudice the interests of the Church in all his plans. But his dream of a Catholic empire did not die with him.

Dr. Engelbert Dollfuss was undoubtedly a most devout Catholic. Before accepting the chancellorship he spent a whole night in prayer; each morning he prayed on his knees for half an hour. He declared with almost fanatical passion that he intended to found a "Christian corporative state . . . with God's help." He was in the habit of ending his sentences with those three words. When he made his visit to Hungary on February 7, 1934, the "practical" Vice-Chancellor Ley used the Heimwehr and the police to provoke an attack and destroy the Socialist movement in Austria. That the leaders and the armed men who destroyed Socialism were members of the Catholic Heimwehr is a fact. Major Ley admitted he did not accept any offer to negotiate, and never wanted any agreements with the "Red Bolshevists." Prince von Stahremberg admitted that the inspiration for the attack came from Rome. But there are two Romes, two powers there which have a vital interest in Austria, and one of them is Caesar. From which Rome did the inspiration for the bombardment of apartment houses and the killing of men, women and children, come?

We have the testimony of Dr. Otto Bauer, intellectual head of the Austrian Socialist party that great efforts were made, but too late, to join the Christian Socialist party in saving the State from the menace of Hitlerism. Catholic Socialists and Christian Socialists, that is, leaders of Bauer's party who were good churchmen, and leaders of Chancellor Dollfuss's own party, called upon Cardinal Innitzer, the Primate of Austria. He was friendly, but even he could do nothing to stop the Heimwehr from recourse to guns. For the slaughter which followed, Otto Bauer blames the Bishop of Linz and the Papal Nuncio, Monsignor Sibylla, "who both pushed the government into Fascist extremes, saying, now is the time to destroy Socialism forever." From this statement it is evident that there was no defined policy: the Archbishop of Vienna was for peace, the Bishop of Linz, in Bauer's words, was for "Fascist extremes." From the battle of the apartment house, the gains were political gains, the profits political profits, and the Rome of Mussolini and the politicians had won the political day.

To raise the cry of "Red Bolshevism" after the *fait accompli,* as Vice-Chancellor Major Ley did, was to deny well-established fact. It would be more truthful to say that there was no Bolshevism in Austria. In fact the Socialists saved Vienna from Bolshevism in 1918 and 1919. The election figures of the nation show some 3,500,000 voters, of whom 1,500,000 were Socialists, 70,000 Communists. Only 2 percent of Austria's voters can be accused of Red Bolshevism. The 40 percent who were Socialists were about as radical as the British Labour party.

The Heimwehr attack appeared to have been inspired more by political and economical necessity than by the Bishop of Linz. The Ley defense was made out of the same red cloth which Mussolini wove in 1925 for the purpose of obtaining loans from America. Having himself written in 1921 that "Bolshevism in Italy does not exist" and "Bolshevism is conquered," and showing scorn for those who use Bolshevism for political purposes, the Machiavelli of Italy reinvented Bolshevism in order to influence the world bankers, knowing it is always the one sure-fire political trick.

What were the results of the destruction of Socialism by the Heimwehr? Emil Ley was removed from command of the army; Dollfuss reaped the enmity of a large part of the Catholic world, of his own party, of many priests, of Cardinal Innitzer; the apartment-houses were taken away from Socialist householders; priests were in charge of food relief; the crucifix was restored to all schools and the Catholic *Reichspost* praised the abolition of civil marriage services for divorced persons. Dollfuss was establishing a sort of Papal State.

(This article will be concluded next week.)

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CARDINAL BOURNE

By SHANE LESLIE

WHEN a cardinal dies, there is a hush, and laudatory roses fall in a slow stream upon the catafalque. In the Middle Ages or in the eighteenth century, cardinals died and received rather grim shift at the hands of their contemporaries. They were judged mercilessly, and rightly, for they were often political. In our days no Catholic pen writes of a cardinal save as of an archangel temporarily loaned from heaven. The reason must be that the writer is afraid that criticism of the man may reflect on the sacred purple. And we believe that the sacred purple worn by cardinals represents mystically the purple garment worn by Christ.

There is another reason. Our modern cardinals are all admirable men and are chosen out of thousands to accomplish hard and business-like tasks. Their mistakes and controversies are forgotten in their general success and spiritual achievement. Francis Cardinal Bourne was one of these. He ruled Southwark and Westminster dioceses for over thirty years. He had been a bishop since the jubilee year of 1897, a distinction he shared with his Anglican rival, the Bishop of London. They were a humorous contrast—the Roman and the Anglican chiefs in the metropolis. One all prudence, wisdom and quiet self-obliteration; the other only alike to Cardinal Bourne in that he was a bachelor—an innocently gay bachelor, but often saying the wrong thing and making his friends smile. This Bishop of London is a fine tennis player, a great gentleman, good-looking, but incurably self-advertising. A dozen obvious successors have been waiting for the See of London. Cardinal Bourne's worth is shown in the apparent lack of any successor.

Cardinal Bourne began humbly. His father was a post-office official who never was mentioned in papers until his son became a bishop. His mother was true Irish. The young Bourne studied at the old strongholds of the Levite: Ushaw, St. Sulpice and Louvain. Then he tried to be a Salesian. He had a gift for influencing boys, teaching them Latin, and bringing them into the priesthood. He worked at places like Grinstead where the Salesians had a Home: East Grinstead where the Carylls held out all through the ages of persecution in Sussex. Suddenly the Bishop of Southwark, Butt, put him in charge of Wonersh, the new seminary of the diocese, which he built up from nothing. He was made coadjutor and then followed a rapid series of successions. He succeeded Vaughan as cardinal archbishop in 1903 and had to face the eyes of the world standing in the overwhelming succession of Wiseman, orientalist, pioneer and a European figure; Manning, theologian and social reformer; Vaughan, aristocrat and mystic.

Henceforth Bourne stood for Rome at the center of the British Empire. It meant minor conflicts till the end: not only with the powers of government, but in his own body. His first public tournament was fought with Asquith, then Prime Minister, over the simple question whether the Host could be carried through the streets of London during the Eucharistic Congress. There was an exchange of public challenges. Asquith was thinking of Protestant votes and Bourne of his Catholic guests. The honors went to the Cardinal.

The great Liberal party had come in with colossal majorities and proceeded to rule England until the Great War. They carried the gonfalon of Home Rule and also a mandate to destroy the Catholic schools by taking them off the rates. It is to the eternal credit of the Irish in England that they sacrificed their love of Home Rule to save their schools. Three Ministers of Education failed to break the Catholic position, including Augustine Birrell. Bourne stood like a rock above the flood. It was then seen that the majority of Catholics in England were of Irish origin, and that they and they alone were able to break the power and pomp of the Liberal phalanx. Bourne gave a generous credit to John Redmond which the old English Catholics resented. Their treatment of the Irish assistance was a scurvy scandal. In the end they played a major part in losing Ireland to the empire.

Bourne found Catholic London polyglot. The slums were congested, apart from the Irish, with Poles, Lithuanians, Germans and the usual medley brought by immigration. He tried to build up an English Church by building small outposts in the suburbs and countryside. Slowly he decorated the barren immensity of the cathedral. He had the good taste to insert Eric Gill's famous Stations of the Cross, which cut through the conventions of prettiness. He did not like artists as a rule, or converts, whom he never promoted nor wished to ordain. He spoke deprecatingly of the darker ages when two of the English hierarchy were converts! He disliked brilliance and cleverness, *vide* his treatment of Monsignor Benson, who found himself prohibited preaching in Westminster as soon as he returned ordained from Rome. Bourne thought the Pope had allowed him to be priested too soon. Benson, like all convert priests, realized he must be a free

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lance. Perhaps Bourne was right about clever converts. He associated paradox with untruth and epigrams with something loose in the head! He made his clergy undistinguished and as humble as himself. As their Ordinary, he only lay down the rule that they must be ordinary. Whether England is to be converted by priest-converts or not remains to be seen. Bourne was unspectacular. He refused to shine himself unless he was dragged into the arena, and he required the work of the archdiocese to be done by bushels and not by candlesticks.

He had the courage of his obstinacy. He told the French-Canadians that English could be used by the Holy Ghost as a medium of Catholic truth. He told the Irish in England that they could not be Republicans. He told the Socialists that a general strike was a sin against God. He told the Holy See that the Diocese of Southwark ought to be absorbed by Westminster: as though Brooklyn were swallowed into New York. This caused some of that genial but unrelenting strife which sometimes exists between metropolitans and bishops. The Bishop of Southwark resisted successfully, but there can be no doubt that Bourne's policy as big policy was right, and it was better to have one powerful see on both sides of London Bridge.

The Cardinal was not intellectual but he could be tolerant of intellectualism. Nobly and secretly he defended priests accused of Modernism. Of his charity he refused to proceed against Father Tyrrell. The excuse he found was typical of his common sense. He did not consult Tyrrell's confessor, but his doctor, and having learnt that he had a certain disease, he refused to hold him answerable for anything he said or wrote during periods of irritation. He made Modernism pathological instead of theological!

He was not a financier, but he combined that ecclesiastical prudence with a homelike thrift which often enables bishops to carry their funds through difficult times. With the coming and passage of aweful and momentous events, he grew in stature. Manning and Wiseman had made the See of Westminster, but it was the see which made Bourne. Great occasions sought him and invariably he met them. He reigned during the Great War. He helped to elect two Popes. He was made a Papal Legate at the celebration of Joan of Arc. But he only entered the history of England once and that was when he condemned the Great Strike as a sin against God. Labor, which has a large Catholic and Irish element, could hardly bear it. In the end they accepted defeat largely at the Cardinal's hands. It is the same element in the Labor party, which has since taken the place of the dead Irish party in defending the Catholic schools when menaced by Socialist programs. Marxism has failed in the ranks of British labor chiefly owing to the presence of the Irish element. The country realized that Cardinal Bourne had had the chief share in stopping the strike, for his words were spoken with authority compared to the weak utterance of the Anglican Primate. The government could give him nothing, but Oxford University gave him the D. C. L. as "a pillar and defense of the Christian faith in a time of peril." He must have incurred the hatred of the present Prime Minister then a Labor leader, for Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's government was not represented at the Cardinal's funeral. A petty but intended slight.

His greatest difficulty was also the source of his strength, the pillar on which he had to rest himself as a Catholic Primate in England: the Irish. For the majority of priests and laity in England, Scotland and Wales are magnificently Irish. He had the common sense to occupy a neutral position compared to Cardinal Vaughan's stark Toryism. Although he favored a dominion solution within the empire, he found himself at cross-wishes with the growing Republican sentiment, which has given President de Valera a perennial majority amongst the Irish in Ireland. During the fierce war between England and Ireland there were moments of division and decision. It was typical that the martyred Mayor of Cork, who died in an English prison, received Catholic burial from Southwark Cathedral, while the Catholic British officers killed in Dublin by the I. R. A. received their service in Westminster, for which Lloyd George wrote to thank the Cardinal. The Cardinal stood by throne and altar. As an English Primate he could hardly do otherwise. But Ireland removed him from her heart and even resented his flying a solitary Union Jack during the Eucharistic Congress in Dublin. It does not appear that any Irish bishop was present at his funeral.

Cardinal Bourne lived through stirring times, and he acted conscientiously for the best. A biography, no doubt of excessive laudation, will be written for his own generation to read. History will deal with him later as it has dealt with Manning and Wiseman; and pending the writing of history all writers of envy or eulogy may suspend judgment. He is with the holy and the just.

Meantime, he has left Wiseman and Manning to lie together in the cathedral of their dreams. Vaughan left his body to his Missionary College at Mill Hill; and Bourne has left his to St. Edmund's, Old Hall, which he completed and adorned. His works and his words survive him. Whether we shall ever have a revelation of the inner man as we have in Snead Cox's life of Vaughan none can say as yet. It is not for us to try to follow or catch even a reflection of his soul as it passes to "that bourne whence no traveler returns."

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THE TOWNSEND PLAN

By BAYARD O. WHEELER

"IF THE members of Congress do not pass the bill, I shall turn them over my knee, spank them and send them home." Thus speaks sixty-five-year-old Dr. F. T. Townsend, the champion of all persons over the age of sixty who hope to obtain a monthly pension guarantee from the federal government.

The Doctor, not satisfied with the practise of medicine in Long Beach, California, has prescribed a "tonic" for the economic system of the United States. It is believed by about 15,000,000 people (mostly over sixty) that the "tonic" will greatly increase the economic metabolism of the country in addition to providing an ample income to the old. The cost of the prescription is of no great concern to the Doctor and his followers. The recovery of the ailing patient will be so immediate and complete that the initial cost of the rejuvenation will be insignificant.

This plan of national economic rehabilitation is popularly called the Townsend Plan. The head office is in Los Angeles, California. According to its sponsors, it is primarily a recovery measure; secondarily, it provides employment assurance as contrasted to unemployment insurance, and lastly, it gives adequate and honorable retirement on a fund which every individual must create for himself by paying a sales tax.

In brief, the plan provides for the enactment of legislation by the national government to the effect that all citizens of the United States, male or female, over the age of sixty years may retire on a pension of $200 per month on the following conditions: (1) that they engage in no further labor, business or profession for gain; (2) that their past life is free from habitual criminality; (3) that they take oath to, and actually do, spend within the confines of the United States the entire amount of their pension within thirty days after receiving same.

It is planned to have the federal government create the revolving fund by levying a general transaction tax. The tax rate is to be just high enough to produce the amount necessary to keep the Old Age Revolving Pension Fund (O.A.R.P., Ltd.) adequate to pay for monthly pensions. The proceeds of the sales tax, according to the act, would be used only for the pension fund.

We are admonished by the Townsendites that the plan is so simple that a child of ten can understand it. It is tacitly assumed that simplicity and practicability go hand in hand. Congressmen who do not favor the scheme should consider well the implications concerning their I. Q. Lest the legislators heed not the wishes of their constituents, the executive directors of the O.A.R.P., Ltd., have planned a campaign of strategy designed to give proper directon to this "irresistible force." Dr. Townsend, aided by his National Strategy Committee and the Committee on Congressional Action, has established quarters on Capitol Hill; a war chest gained from contributions and collections is aiding in lobbying efforts, and at the proper moment Congress is to be inundated with petitions having signatures (it is hoped) of some 50,000,000 of the population.

The plan is motivated by a strange mixture of humane and economic considerations. A review of the Townsend Plan publications indicates a drift toward the practical problem of economic reconstruction and away from the less tangible thesis of social justice. Consider this statement from a recent issue of the *Pension News:* "As a matter of fact the consideration for old age is merely incidental. Those over sixty are to be the immediate beneficiaries only because, under the plan, it was necessary to put rapidly circulating money in the hands of some group, and that group appeared the most logical. The chief point is to spend, put money into circulation and turn it over every month—nearly $2,000,000,000 of it. The security proposed for old age would be a means to an end." It seems that the specific ailment besetting our business life is the sluggish circulation of purchasing power or money. According to Dr. Townsend, production capacity exceeds consumption, and the method of achieving equilibrium and recovery is by energizing idle funds.

Nobody will deny that there are many people in the United States with inadequate purchasing power. This is literally a truism, applying to good times as well as to depression periods. A uniformly high standard of living should be the goal of every national economy. In fact, most forms of social insurance, even a dole, substantiate this. But there is a seeming difference of opinion over the best method of putting additional "purchasing power" into the hands of consumers. It is generally believed that money and purchasing power are co-extensive, and it is undoubtedly this belief that causes Townsendites to turn to the magic of spending our way to recovery.

Statistics gathered from the Census publications of the Department of Commerce reveal that in 1930 there were 10,385,026 people in the United States sixty years of age or older. This constitutes 8½ percent of the total population.

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In some of the Townsend literature it is claimed that 10,000,000 people would be pensioned and that $2,000,000,000 per month would be paid out in pensions. In other publications by the group the number expected to be pensioned is given as 8,000,000, which would make a total monthly cost of $1,600,000,000. Thus the annual cost of the pension is placed between $19,200,000,000 and $24,000,000,000.

Comparing these figures of the anticipated annual cost with disbursements of the federal government one finds that the pension cost would more than double the total federal outlay in 1933 which was $7,514,678,000, and the latter figure includes emergency expenditures and Reconstruction Finance Corporation loans outstanding in December, 1933. The pension outlay would equal one-half of the total present income of all the people of the United States. The Department of Commerce estimate of national income for 1932 is $38,349,000,000. The total national income reached its highest point in 1929 when it stood at $83,37,000,000. The pension outlay would equal about one-fourth of this figure. Thus, 8½ percent of the population would receive over one-half of the present national income.

Figures of national income mean little to the Townsend crusaders. Total business transacted in the United States during the year is the mine that they believe will yield the gold for the old age income. This looks like good "pay dirt," for during 1934 the monthly total of all money transactions in the country was between $30,000,000,000 and $40,000,000,000, or around $420,000,000,000 annually. In October, 1929, a peak of approximately $112,000,000,000 was reached, while the monthly average for 1929 was about $77,000,000,000. These figures are a composite of bank debits compiled by the United States Department of Commerce, normally 85 percent of money transactions, and currency in circulation, 15 percent of transactions. A diversion of an amount equal to only 5 percent of total money transactions in 1934 would provide the necessary funds for the plan. While a slice of 2 or 2½ percent of the total 1929 business turnover would keep the old age "revolving fund" revolving.

It looks easy. Simply tack a sales tax of between 2½ percent and 5 percent on every money transaction in the country; turn it over to the pensioners; they will spend it during the month, and old Uncle Sam will feel and act like a "prohibition tonic" addict.

Once more a money illusion as "old as the hills and as new as the dawn" comes out of the West. Many pages in the past years have been devoted to exploding such money myths as the naive belief that one person's money gain is another person's loss, or that the excess of debts over the quantity of money precludes debt settlement, or the persistent notion that business will stagnate at times unless the quantity of money is increased. The pernicious fallacy in which the Townsend Plan finds root is the belief that wealth and money are the same and that multiplying money increases wealth and purchasing power in the same ratio.

Money in its present form (including credit) is merely a means of expediting the transfer of ownership in wealth and the reimbursement for personal services. To society as a whole money, except gold and silver, is not wealth. Today no gold and little silver circulate as money in the United States. Most business is transacted with money such as checks and paper currency. The ownership of money gives control over wealth, but all money could be destroyed overnight and the income producing wealth of the nation would be diminished but a little. Increasing money over short periods does not, as a rule, increase purchasing power. The latter is simply a ratio between the quantity of goods and the quantity of money. To increase money, wealth remaining the same, is to diminish the purchasing power, or value, of each money unit. All of which is a roundabout way of saying that economic well-being arises from an abundance of wealth (tangible income producing goods and personal services) and not from money.

What has this to do with the Townsend Plan? It answers the contention that forced circulation of some $24,000,000,000 a year would increase the purchasing power and hence the consuming power of the people, thus balancing consumption with production. The immediate effect of more circulating media, or the same amount with greater turnover, would be to stimulate business temporarily, but if the increased media came not from income derived from producing wealth or personal services, the value of money and its purchasing power would drop. There would simply be a new adjustment of more money to the old level of business activity. It would be like agitating water in a bowl. No new liquid would be created or added.

The temporary or immediate effect of injecting the first monthly turnover of $1,600,000,000 of pension might be neutral. The payment of $1,000,000,000 to the veterans on their bonus certificates did not stimulate business. Most of the money went to liquidate old debts. The pouring out of billions by the Federal Treasury during the past four years in fighting the depression, causing an increase of over $12,000,000,000 in the gross public debt, has not greatly stimulated recovery. There is reason to believe that the first two or three months' operation of the pension plan would have a negative effect. It is imperative that the buoyancy of spending be felt

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the first month of operation, otherwise the proposed general transaction tax would be a double burden. This initial stimulus necessitates an immediate advance of some $1,600,000,000 by the national government for the first month. With the ordinary budget and the proposed extraordinary expenditures for relief, P.W.A. funds and the bonus, the question of ever balancing the budget and honoring the public debt becomes serious. The Townsend people show no great concern over this, for they believe that their plan will open the flood gates of national prosperity, and that all debts, public and private, will be swept away in the surge of a perfected "new era."

More careful consideration discloses that the plan may and probably would have a damaging effect. It is an accepted fact that a general sales or transaction tax, suggested to finance the plan, is in most cases borne ultimately by the consumer. How then would new purchasing power or increased money turnover result from taking $2,000,000,000 per month from one class (the consumer) and giving it to a fraction of the same class (8½ percent of the consumers)? It has a suspicious appearance of "endless chain" schemes for getting rich quick, or of attaining prosperity by reciprocal laundry work.

It may appear superfluous to consider the disadvantages of a general transaction tax after the above discussion, but the Townsend pension advocates skip blithely into another economic blind alley when they take total money transactions for comparative pension costs, and not total national income. To take 2½ percent to 5 percent of total money transactions brings the plan within the realm of imagination at least, but when the figure approaches 50 percent of the annual national income even "a child of ten" would not consider it. But is the true rate on the former much different from the proportion to the latter? It is not!

The mere exchange of goods from hand to hand does not multiply the physical wealth in existence. A box of apples is "one" box of apples regardless of the number of times it changes hands from the grower to the consumer. To tax the sale price of a box of apples 2½ percent to 5 percent every time it changes hands is to assume that it can divide and grow like an ameba, or expand its size and value by internal mutation. To assume otherwise is to ignore the fact that the average net income for intermediate agents handling fruit is usually very little in excess of 2½ percent to 5 percent. And if the tax exceeds the gain derived in the production and marketing of goods, i. e., the profit, then the price to the consumer must be stepped up or the good will not appear in the market. In the case of apples a higher price would lead to substitution of less costly fruits, and so on for other goods, depending upon the elasticity of demand and the type of unit production cost whether increasing, decreasing or constant.

Taxes must come ultimately from income or liquidation of physical assets or wealth. To force the latter by taxation is a sure way of eating up the past accumulation of labor and saving. Most progressive and equitable taxation measures are designed to take only a fraction of the net income and none of the capital value. The Townsendites cannot escape the inevitable conclusion that the pension outlay must come from income, however fine it may be to talk in terms of total business transactions. To yield sufficient revenue the tax would have to divert one-half the annual national income into the pockets of people past sixty.

In addition, the general transaction or turnover tax is usually pyramided as the good is passed from hand to hand. In the case of necessities having an inelastic demand, and for which little if any substitution is possible, it is estimated that the ultimate sales tax paid by the consumer is 8 percent to 10 percent. How then could each pensioner put $200 of present purchasing power in circulation if he were required to contribute $18 to $20 per month in sales taxes? This is significant since Dr. Townsend reiterates that no less than $200 per month should be spent by each beneficiary—any less than this would not guarantee the success of the program.

The tax program turns out to be another species of money illusion at the base of the whole Townsend Plan. Mere multiplication of dollars does not necessarily produce purchasing power, wealth or taxes to satisfy human wants. Money may decrease while wealth is increasing and money may increase while wealth is decreasing. The latter seems to fit the Townsend Plan.

This article is concerned only with the economic aspects of the plan, but a criminologist would find material for interesting speculation in the arguments for crime reduction advanced by the Townsend group. The constitutional lawyer would find no less diversion in the implications of class legislation inherent in the program. The psychologist might well question the cultural benefactions that it is claimed the emancipated pensioners would confer upon society.

The Townsend Plan has focused popular attention upon the needs of the older group of our nation. Social justice dictates that those past sixty, who have little earning capacity, should be provided with at least the economic necessities of life. And this type of social insurance is rapidly becoming the concern of every forward-looking nation. But the cost and method of giving such aid should not consume the source from which pension benefits normally flow. The Townsend Plan might make old age a rich experience, but like Pandora's box it contains much that is undesirable.

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THE CATHOLIC ACTION MEDAL

By THE EDITORS

THE COMMONWEAL was greatly honored on Sunday evening, February 3, when the Catholic Action Medal, awarded annually by St. Bonaventure's College, Alleghany, New York, was conferred on Michael Williams. A small but enthusiastic audience of clergy and laity were gathered at dinner, which—the scene being the Waldorf-Astoria, New York—was in keeping with the festive note struck for the occasion. The medal itself is a relatively new decoration, having been presented for the first time last year, when the Honorable Alfred E. Smith was the recipient. The Reverend Thomas Plassmann, O. F. M., whose brain-child this medal is, thinks that the cause of Catholic lay activity can be fostered, especially among college alumni, if both example and encouragement are afforded. He presented the suggestion to the reigning Holy Father, who expressed cordial approval. "Approbamus et applaudimus," were the words of Pius XI. Thus the dictinction may fairly claim to carry with it genuine ecclesiastical endorsement, and to take its place beside the Laetare Medal, Notre Dame's symbol of recognition for lay effort, which can now look back upon a long history.

Addressing the assembled guests, Father Plassmann remarked that whereas St. Bonaventure's had last year honored a citizen with a splendid record as a public servant, it was this time concerned with literary achievement. The written word is closely associated with the Christian mission in all ages. We have all read about an ancient manuscript, recently found in a bundle of papyri, which may turn out to be an earlier version of the Gospel according to Saint John; and since this last, as we know it now, goes back to the first century, it is obvious that from the very beginning the scribe was the ally of the apostle. In later centuries, when Christian life assimilated everything valuable in humanistic and scientific enquiry, it was always obvious that literature was of the utmost importance in the dissemination of ideas. That we of the present go to school to print is a platitude; and Father Plassmann was quite right in saying that this "print" is therefore of the utmost importance as an objective of Catholic Action.

Of the honor paid to Mr. Williams personally, we shall say little. That it was deeply gratifying to him individually goes without saying; that it cast the glow of approval on the work of THE COMMONWEAL, and of The Calvert Associates, is likewise patent. We shall therefore limit our consideration of all this to the very friendly address which the Most Reverend Maurice F. McAuliffe, Bishop of Hartford, delivered at the banquet. His Excellency kindly permitted us to quote what he said in full:

> The Diocese of Hartford is honored tonight by the award of the Catholic Action Medal of 1935 to one of its distinguished laymen. It forms another bond of affection between a renowned college and the Church in Connecticut. St. Bonaventure's College is the Alma Mater of many of our zealous priests and devoted laymen. The Very Reverend President represents a distinguished line of officers who have presided over this illustrious seat of learning. From humble beginnings it has grown to a place of honor and distinction in the college world. Its stately halls receive the youth of the land and train them in the eternal verities and in the way of goodness and holiness. It is a center of religious life whence go forth zealous evangelists, clerical and lay, to spread the knowledge of God and His Church. In the truly Franciscan spirit it has extended the Kingdom of Christ throughout the country.
>
> True to its lofty ideals, it interprets the thought of our Most Holy Father Pius XI and gives new inspiration to his program for the reconstruction of society—Catholic Action, the participation of the laity in the apostolate of the hierarchy. Tonight it stretches its beneficent hand to the Eastern Coast and honors a distinguished citizen of our commonwealth and a faithful member of the Church—Michael Williams.
>
> Faith is his guiding star. The All-loving, All-wise and Omniscient has been his support and comfort. Faithfulness to his Maker in and through the Church has enriched and ennobled his life. His example of personal holiness—the prerequisite to genuine Catholic Action—is the edification and admiration of his townfolk, Catholic and non-Catholic. He has translated his faith into action. In the vast field of Catholic Action, what greater power to teach truth, repel error and mold public opinion than an enlightened Catholic journalism? He has been quick to perceive its influence and has turned its vast resources to the cause of God and country. The aim of the weekly review, THE COMMONWEAL, which he founded and edits, is to make the Church known and loved. He has succeeded in obtaining a hearing by his fair and dignified exposition of Catholic doctrine, his urbane approach to the views of others and tolerant attitude toward his critics. He has broken down the barrier that shut out the light of Catholic truth, and separated the Church from his countrymen, and made the acceptance of the

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Catholic point of view less irreverent and more sympathetic. Clear thinking, accurate expression and comprehensive knowledge of modern problems have made it a constructive force for good throughout the nation. In these times of confusion and uncertainty, when vital issues are sharply controverted, he has maintained a spirit of fairness, justice and equanimity. To his mind Catholic doctrine is the good leaven which must leaven the whole mass, but always in the spirit of Saint Paul, "by doing the truth in charity" (Ephesians, iv, 15). The story of ten years an editor is his achievement for Catholic Action. He has spread the Kingdom, exalted the cause of Christ and advanced the intellectual, social and religious life of the nation. Faithfully and loyally he has answered the call of Pius XI—"to defend the principles of faith and morals and spread a sane and beneficial social action."

It is for me a high honor and privilege to present the Catholic Action Medal of 1935 to an outstanding Catholic layman, author, lecturer and editor—the Honorable Michael Williams.

The Bishop, responding to requests, later on spoke intimately and illuminatingly of Catholic Action. Other speakers dwelt on various aspects of the same theme. In his address of acceptance, Mr. Williams said in part:

I believe that in associating the laity more closely than has been needful in the immediate past with their work of repelling the evils of this age, and in striving to reform human society after the model given to humanity once for all by Jesus Christ, the ordained leaders and rulers of the Catholic Church perceive with deep satisfaction that in these United States today Protestants, Jews and Catholics are working together as never before to preserve the corporate and civic liberties and human rights which western civilization attained under the guidance of Christian principles, and are cooperating more and more to redress the social evils of the age, through programs of practical action based upon the everlasting moral truths derived from religion.

This is why I venture to think that there is some public value to this occasion, which otherwise, of course, would only concern those directly taking part in it. Moreover, the fact that it is a Franciscan college which bestows this particular reward for Catholic Action gives this event, I believe, a particular public value; for Franciscanism is a symbol, at least, of what our whole threatened society is searching after, because Franciscanism possesses a center of moral and spiritual power; a dynamo, so to speak, which can unite all men and women of good-will who acknowledge Almighty God as the guiding force of their lives in common efforts for the common good of all.

For Saint Francis is loved by all the world within and without the Catholic Church—except, alas, by those darkened and desperate men who deny the God of Love and choose to worship instead the evil idols of racial, or national, or economic, or personal power. Saint Francis and Franciscanism during seven centuries have fought against human hatreds and divisions with the spiritual weapons of love and brotherhood and joy. They have, in especial, opposed Mammon worship and the war spirit more steadily and perhaps more successfully than any other body of men and women in the world. Franciscans came to America with Columbus—indeed, Columbus himself was a member of the Third Order of St. Francis; they were the first missionaries, and educators, and civilizers; and today they are laboring in this new world more strongly than ever before. It is, therefore, ladies and gentlemen, as a Franciscan—a poor one, it is true, but the Little Poor Man of Assisi welcomes even the weakest brethren—that I thank you who have listened to this message of what Catholic Action, and its Franciscan expression, means to us all, whatever our religious loyalties may be.

If, as a result of this festival—for it was that in a very real sense—some will be moved to put the cause of Catholic Action close to their hearts, the good for which St. Bonaventure's prays will in part have been accomplished.

Run-out Harbor

Where houses once were straight and clean,
Tumbling roofs and gables lean
To every point the compass owns,
Cellar walls are missing stones,
The gaps yawn like an old man's mouth.
Some houses face the west, some south,
A thing Coast families worth their salt
Would reckon as a fatal fault;
For south winds and the lack of sun
Many a family have undone.
Children happen here and go
Any way the wind may blow.
A night abroad may turn a marriage,
Fathers do not mind whose carriage
Their offspring ride in. There is laughter
Heard at midnight and long after.
Clamshells litter yards with white,
Clothes made for wearing out of sight
Flap in front of the front door.
There is no parlor any more
In such houses. Faces stare
From all the windows, everywhere.
The chimney of a lazy man
Finds the shortest way it can
And comes out through a window-pane.
Tall schooners will not go again
Out of such a harboring.
People loll about and sing
As they run their shad nets clear.
People are just staying here.

ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN.

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DEFENDERS OF THE FAITH

By EDWARD WARD

ALL IS now quiet on the Western front. On November 6, one of the most interesting and bitterly fought gubernatorial contests of the year concluded in California. For some weeks it commanded the attention of the nation. It saw a peculiar turn of political events whereby a lifelong Socialist suddenly became the bearer of the Democratic standard, a strange situation which caused many to conclude that the direct primary should once again give place to the party caucus as a means of selecting the party nominee. It split the Democratic party asunder and left in its ranks numerous vacant files caused by the desertion of formerly invincible adherents to its chosen leader. Moreover, it has awakened apprehension over the advance of Socialism, a fear shared not only by the citizens of the state but of all the nation. It has caused the old guard Republicans, traditionally dominant in the administration of the state of California, to appreciate the necessity of liberalizing their policies lest they suddenly find themselves powerless. Finally, and most uniquely, both the major opponents in that contest put "the armor of justice on the right hand and on the left" and entered into the combat girded as Modern Defenders of the Faith.

This was not the first campaign in which religion was used as a war-cry to rally supporters to a political cause. In 1928, millions cast their votes for a candidate who might not otherwise have been their choice, simply to vindicate the right of a Catholic to occupy the supreme office of the Presidency of the United States. At the same time other millions, moved primarily by religious prejudice, deserted the standard to which they had always adhered. The California campaign however was strikingly unique in that, while no religious issue was expressly involved, both contenders sought the vote of the large Catholic population principally by an appeal to their religious sentiment.

The injection of the religious question into the contest is directly attributable to the Republican party which widely publicized and circulated excerpts from various writings of Upton Sinclair violently attacking and ridiculing the Catholic Church. These passages were not only reproduced daily in Republican newspapers prior to the campaign, but they were also compiled in pamphlet form and delivered in large quantities to the various parishes throughout the state. The presumption was, apparently, that the pastors, having themselves been aroused, would provide for the dissemination of this political literature amongst their parishioners—a clever means of enlisting the pastors as campaign workers. Actually, the passages cited from the works of Upton Sinclair were such as to cause deep indignation in the hearts of local Catholics. Suggesting, as the guiding thought, that "Out of his own mouth shall he be judged," his opponents featured the following passages from "The Profits of Religion":

"There are the Holy Roman Bootstraplifters whose priests are fed by Transubstantiation" (page 14).

"A Catholic hospital, with its slave-Sisters and attendants" (page 107).

"The Catholic Church is not primarily a religious organization; it is a political organization, and proclaims the fact, and defies those who would shut it up in the religious field" (page 116).

"The Catholics are organized for political work. There are various Catholic societies, such as the Knights of Columbus, secret, oath-bound organizations, the military arm of the papal power" (pages 123-124).

It is significant, and to some amusing, that the political party which, in 1928, had whispered, quite audibly, such phrases as "The Knights of Columbus . . . the military arm of the papal power," now, in 1934, became incensed that another author of such phrases should aspire to receive the vote of Catholic citizens. They became alarmed over the threats to the safety of the Church. They took steps to warn their Catholic brethren of the danger which confronted them, just as formerly they had taken care to warn the non-Catholics of the country of the danger threatening them should a Catholic be elected President. Clearly, they sought refuge in our present-day catacombs simply for want of "a better 'ole."

From the ranks of the ardent supporters of Upton Sinclair, not unpeopled by Catholics, came the earnest protestations that the passages cited were torn from their context or taken from works written many years ago. Finding this argument nullified by the rebuttal that the citations were from very recent editions of admittedly old works, they switched to a positive appeal to elicit the Catholic vote. They countered with the encyclical letter of Pope Pius XI. Shielding their political saber under the cloak of the Catholic press, they produced a paper pretending to be a Catholic publication.

On a Sunday morning shortly before the election Sinclair workers stationed themselves in front of the Catholic churches throughout the state and distributed papers bearing the misleading title, "The Catholic Plea." The feature article was concerned with proving that Sinclair only promised to practise what Pius XI had taught. The major premise consisted in an exposition of the views of Pius XI on private property, the living wage, child labor, the concentration of wealth and the possible acceptability of mitigated Socialism. The minor premise was a promise of Upton Sinclair to put these views into practise. The conclusion, inferentially, was that a Catholic loyal to the Pope would be morally bound to be loyal to Sinclair.

The pleas for social justice, of which the Church is rightly called the champion, made by Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory the Great, Thomas Aquinas, and today by Monsignor John A. Ryan, were quoted at length. Not until one had read the writings of these ecclesiastics to the end did it become apparent that they were merely cited as forerunners of the saviour who was to "End Poverty in California." From it all Upton Sinclair emerged as a Champion of the Church, a Defender of the Faith.

Obviously it was anticipated by both parties that Catholics would feel satisfaction and a sense of gratitude in the solicitude shown for their safety. Certainly it was expected that such concern would win their support. As we have seen, both parties made strong bids for the so-

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called Catholic vote. Perhaps they know today that there is no such thing. Perhaps they will tomorrow leave the religious question out of political battles, unless—which God avert!—it be involved as an unavoidable issue.

The reaction among Catholics to this appeal to religious sentiment was not such as to encourage its use in future campaigns. It was not an extremely effective weapon. Perhaps, that is because it was overused. More probably, it is because the American Catholic people have developed a deep-rooted distaste for the use of religion as a political rapier. They have learned that a weapon can be used in offense as well as in defense. Certainly it is true that its use in the California political struggle failed in its purpose. On election day Catholics were found aligned on either side in just about the same numbers as they would have been had the religious war-cry never been raised. It is true that many Catholic voters were opposed to Upton Sinclair, but it is equally true that the motive which prompted their choice was not so much his attitude toward religion as his social and economic theories.

The authorities of the Church maintained the traditional policy of taking no part in political strifes. It did not require all the acumen of the bishops of California to realize that religion is becoming an increasingly popular weapon for the waging of political warfare. They knew, too, that weapons suffer with use and are easily cast aside when the war is over. They clearly recognized that this deep concern for the Church would be forgotten by both parties once the votes were counted, or rather once the votes were cast. So the bishops held their counsel.

In remaining aloof from the struggle the Catholic Church occupied a unique position. All other religious bodies took some part. Yet, the Church most bitterly denounced, most avidly sought after, most potentially powerful, held its peace. And this despite the protestations of some within the Church that this election involved issues, not individuals, and the equally persistent claim of others that it presented a concrete opportunity to effect the rebuilding of the social order urged by Pius XI.

One of the most interesting facts, therefore, illustrated by the California election is the truth that the Church, despite purported provocation, protestation and pleading, has no part in politics. Once again, as in 1928, despite the fact that politicians have dragged the Church into politics, ecclesiastical authorities have steadfastly refused to drag politics into the Church.

Garb for the Spirit . . .

"Having put off the body of this death. . . ."

Frailer than thinnest breath,
What raiment shall it wear,
Taking the starry path
Of undimensioned air?

How dainty wings must feel!
How light a sandal press
The incorporeal heel
Traversing nothingness.

SARA HENDERSON HAY.

Communications

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIAL SECURITY

New Orleans, La.

TO the Editor: It is, perhaps, fitting that the Golden State should be prominently associated with a brand of mentality which we may reasonably call "Townsendism"—reasonably yet paradoxically, since Dr. Townsend appears to belong to the medical (life-giving) brotherhood.

We are referring to the latest phobia—shall we say "biophobia"—fear of life? In positive terms it might be described as a pathological craving for security, for "insurance against the major hazards of life." Now, we are certainly not opposed to rational planning for economic security (social security remains for us *vox et praeterea nihil*). But, like every other good thing, such "planning" may be carried to extremes. Consider, for instance, the case of communistic Russia, or (not to leave our own economic backyard) Lewis Sinclair's "Epic," and Huey P. Long's "Every Man a King."

In a sense, the heresy we are now trying to scotch is latent in no less a document than the Declaration of Independence, where, among the "inalienable rights" with which men are said to be endowed by their Creator, is listed the right to the "pursuit of happiness." And we are further admonished that "to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men." No doubt. But before we ring the changes on our inalienable right to the pursuit of happiness, let us be quite sure what the word "happiness" really means. If, for instance, the implication is that poverty and the fear of poverty are unqualified evils (even in an economic sense), then we are dealing with an assumption that is palpably false.

Soon, however, the tiny whisper becomes a mighty shout. The heresy implicit in the Declaration of Independence is unmistakable in the new liberalism—the theory of the totalitarian state. For one thing, it follows that the totalitarian state is not as un-American as some think.

Nevertheless, we are firmly convinced that the care of the aged and of the poor is not, ordinarily speaking, a matter of justice on the part of the public. No matter what muddle-headed utopians may say or do, there will always be room for charity.

On the other hand, we are no less certain that the community, and indeed the State, are bound in justice to find work for the unemployed, since the latter are a necessary by-product of industrialism, as at present constituted. Here is ample room for a "program of action"; for it cannot be said that the problem has been solved.

And if it be said (the mind of the administration is not very clear on this point) that, as long as we are going to "inflate," some of the money might as well be spent on pensions, we answer that business does not mix very well with charity, and that in particular (1) the immediate creation of new jobs has a paramount claim and (2) artificial inflation is fundamentally wrong in principle. But that is something else again. (See *Literary Digest*, January 26, 1935, page 25.)

REV. EUGENE M. BECK, S. J.

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CONCERNING GREGORIAN CHANT

Chicago, Ill.

TO the Editor: The Very Reverend Edward C. Phillips, S. J., in the October 12 issue of THE COMMONWEAL, comments on the rhythmisizing of Gregorian melodies.

It occurred to me while reading Father Phillips's letter that perhaps the laity is not so much interested in abstract theories such as mensuralism as it is in the actual restoration of chant. My experience has been that the average Catholic layman is perplexed by the apathetic attitude of those responsible for the non-sensical, non-liturgical performances of the average choir and is becoming increasingly vocal in adverse criticism of present conditions.

Perhaps not all those interested in the restoration of chant understand the necessity of a very important preliminary requirement if satisfactory progress shall be made.

In his book, "Protestant Church Music," Dr. Archibald T. Davison, professor of music at Harvard University, expresses the thought that the keynote to musical reform is not the education of pastors and choirmasters, but the education of the laity. It is reasonable to conclude that if the faithful is to grasp the necessity for reform and the reasons for it, they must know the liturgy; they must realize that attendance at Mass merely as a spectator does not satisfy the obligation. In "The Call to Catholic Action," the Reverend Daniel A. Lord, S. J., says, "Priest and people together offer the Mass."

If the Catholic Action movement can educate the laity to understand that intellectual appreciation of the Mass is essential to proper participation in it, they will have accomplished the restoration of chant, because an understanding, intellectually appreciative laity would find existing conditions intolerable. This generation may witness the wishes of the Church strictly carried out in this greatest and most magnificent act of public worship.

BERNARD J. MULHERN.

THE LETTER-BOX

FOR THE benefit of those who were not with us last week, it may be repeated here that since THE COMMONWEAL Editor receives more good letters than he can publish, this place has been reserved for bows to many friends. David Gatzenmeier, of New York, N. Y., points out that Reverend Mother M. Agatha, commenting on many signs and omens of a Catholic intellectual revival, forgot to mention the Spiritual Book Associates, who are "striving to bring back the lost inspiration of popular spiritual reading." We were glad to hear from F. J. Travers, of Fort Wayne, Ind., that he had circulated his copy of THE COMMONWEAL Anniversary Number among his associates of the Lincoln Life Insurance Company, to very good effect. Victor M. Hamm, of Mount St. Joseph, Ohio, liked Father Wilbur's remarks on Babbitt very much, and requests him to "write a longer article on the subject," since Catholics ought to know "what is good and true in the man's work, and what is to be cast aside." But he objects to the adjectives "Tory" and "Puritan," holding that Babbitt was a Middle-Westerner, that he trounced Calvinism in the name of free will, and that his authority on social and political matters was Edmund Burke. B. M. Roberts, of Niagara Falls, Ontario, asks, "What diocese could not support at least one scholarship at the Catholic University of America for the most brilliant youth of college age in its boundaries?" He feels that the effects on future life in America "would be considerable." Cyril Clemens, of the International Mark Twain Society, Webster Groves, Mo., announces that the society is again offering a prize of $25 for the best essay on the subject "Mark Twain's Centenary," submitted prior to November 30 of this year. Last year's award, for an essay on "The Best Living Biographer in My State," was won by Sister Mary Gabriel Guzman of Holy Angels Academy, Seattle, Wash. That veteran letter-writer. Charles Hooper, of Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, thinks that the American people "have slumped all along the line, in little things as well as great." Bad manners, slovenliness, carelessness are straws which "show the way the wind blows." John A. Fitzgerald, of Utica, N. Y., thinks that reliance on school textbooks is unnecessarily slavish, and believes "every one of the 225,000 pupils in Catholic high schools" is carting around much excess weight in "textbooks in a single subject alone." The test case is Latin, where three-fourths of the material used is "deadwood," according to Mr. Fitzgerald. He avers that the European teachers would turn up their noses at most of this accumulation, and that American pupils learn nothing from it anyhow. To illustrate, he quotes a report on high-school graduate Latin emanating from Columbia University, where Professor C. D. Yonge unearthed a terrible state of affairs. The phrase "Posteritatis gloriae serviamus" is Cicero's way of saying, "Let us fix our eyes on the glory which posterity will confer on us." Students translated this as follows: "Let us survive the glory of posterity"; "Let us save the glory of the future"; and "We serve ancient glory." All this is just a meager sample of what dire things Professor Yonge came upon. Mr. Fitzgerald opines that a "Latin teacher who is up to his or her task" can get better results than this by concentrating on a few books. We pass on his remarks to those concerned. For our part, we suggest that the amount saved be turned over to parents in reward for their heroism in making the kids study their lessons. The Reverend E. J. Hickey, of Detroit, Mich., writes to say that the Van Antwerp Library of the Detroit Sodality Union is sponsoring a "large Catholic press exhibit on the main floor of the Hammond Building, opposite the City Hall, on February 22-24." COMMONWEAL readers are cordially invited to attend and listen to afternoon and evening lectures. Katherine M. Godley, of Watertown, N. Y., declares that one reason for the conflict between Church and State in Mexico is the Constitution, which provides that acceptance of an appointment "from any foreign state" is subject to disenfranchisement. Since the Vatican City State can be interpreted to be "a foreign power," the results are obvious. We would, however, observe that legalistic difficulties of this kind are seldom of any great consequence in determining national policy.

THE EDITORS.

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Seven Days' Survey

The Church.—Pope Pius XI has just celebrated the thirteenth anniversary of his coronation as Pope. * * * Sir Thomas More and John Cardinal Fisher, who were beheaded by Henry VIII in 1535 for their refusal to recognize him as head of the Church in England, were formally declared martyrs, February 10. Their canonization will take place the latter part of May. Sir Eric Drummond, British Ambassador to Italy, and Sir Charles Wingfield, British envoy to the Holy See, and a number of other English notables attended the ceremony. Referring to England, the Holy Father spoke as follows: "I turn my eyes toward that country and I repeat the wish which is not only a prayer but a prophecy of the Divine Redeemer, that there be but one flock and one pastor." * * * For the benefit of the Austria Winter Relief Fund for Needy Children in Vienna and the Leo House fund for needy immigrants in New York, the Vienna Choir Boys will give a concert Sunday, February 24, at 3:30 p. m. in the Grand Ball Room of the Waldorf-Astoria in New York under the auspices of the Austria America Society. The program includes Schubert's little opera, "Song of Old Vienna," and other selections. * * * In refuting the statement of President Cardenas that there is no religious persecution in Mexico, the N.C.W.C. News Service cites a protest addressed to the President himself by a citizen of Queretaro, where Catholics are pursued like "mad dogs." The names of ten priests who have been arrested are given by the News Service. * * * A Catholic Lending Library has just been formed in Hartford, Connecticut, which for a modest fee will supply Catholics and non-Catholics of the city with a wide variety of modern Catholic books in many fields. * * * The gold medal of the National Institute of Arts and Letters was presented to Miss Agnes Repplier, for "distinguished work in essays and belles-lettres," on February 11. Her "ancestors" were declared to be "Lamb and Montaigne." * * * On February 9, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Boy Scouts of America, 1,000 Catholic Boy Scouts attended Mass and received Holy Communion at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York.

The Nation.—The struggle by the government to keep the conflict of the interests of employers and workers from breaking into a war with all the destructive and uncertain outcomes characteristic of war, combined with the continued uncertainty as to the decision of the Supreme Court on the gold clause, to give most national events a decided tinge of the unconcluded. * * * The disaster of the naval dirigible, Macon, emphasized the unhappy record of American experience with these machines, and indicated an end for some time to American experimentation with dirigibles. * * * The American Federation of Labor was apparently spurred by the necessity of adapting itself to changing conditions and announced from Washington the quickening of its plans to organize the more than 100 craft unions of the automobile industry into a vertical or industrial union. This basic change in organization is also taking place in the cement and aluminum industries and is being considered for steel workers. * * * A code of fair competition for the tobacco industry, one of the largest and most profitable that has so far remained uncodified, was finally signed by the President. The industry was put under NRA supervision with regard to rates of pay and hours of labor, with an agreement for minimum wages varying from $.25 to $.40 an hour, a basic forty-hour week and maximum eight-hour day. * * * Federal relief headquarters announced that while Congress was debating the $4,880,000,000 works relief bill, 2,225,000 heads of families out of the approximately 5,000,000 receiving federal relief were transferred from a dole to work relief. * * * Chairmen Wheeler and Rayburn of the Senate and House Interstate Commerce Committees introduced bills in Congress to simplify drastically and ultimately eliminate holding companies in the public utility field and to aid control over operating companies, particularly those supplying gas and electricity.

The Wide World.—Asserting that Japanese policy in the Far East was governed by anxiety to prevent Russia from gaining control of Manchukuo and China, Ambassador Hiroti told the Council of Foreign Relations, meeting in Chicago, that "the efforts of Russian agents in China since 1925" had led Tokyo to carry out the policy with which the world is now familiar. * * * The Washington correspondent of the New York *Times* declared that the plea for Anglo-American cooperation in the Far East made recently by General Jan Smuts was confirmation of "the belief that a *de facto* policy of cooperation has virtually been reached, at least in relation to naval affairs." * * * Indications were that the German government would wait some time before replying to the Anglo-French communiqué inviting Chancellor Hitler to sponsor new continental anti-air-war pacts and the return of Germany to the League. The Nazi press devoted considerable attention to the Russian military menace, and to the lack of assurance that Germany would be protected in the East. * * * Cardinal Faulhaber, preaching against the proposed Bavarian school laws, which call for the virtual abolition of religious education, declares that sponsors of such legislation were "liable to excommunication." He likewise asserted: "The split in Germany today is not, as Nazi reformers declare, between Catholics and Protestants, but between the new heathenism and both our churches." * * * Rome reported that clashes between Italian and Abyssinian troops had occurred in the neighborhood of Ualaal, on January 29. A heavy mobilization of troops was ordered by Mussolini. To demands for indemnity and a formal apology, the Ethiopian King replied that 1,000,000 men were ready to defend their African fatherland. Rome seemed determined to carry

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out a punitive expedition on a grand scale. * * * From various American sources came reports that the situation in Austria is relatively quiet and stable. The anniversary of the February battles of 1934 was marked, however, by minor clashes between workers' organizations and the police. Dr. Anton von Rintelen, who attempted suicide after the failure of the Nazi putsch last March, has recovered sufficiently to answer an indictment for high treason. The court will convene on March 2.

* * * *

Decency Review.—During the month of February, which is Catholic Press Month, Catholic news services, weeklies and monthlies have pointed with pride to the effect of propaganda for the Legion of Decency in reducing the immorality of the cinema. The campaign for clean movies has also undoubtedly helped the Catholic press by a legitimate reciprocal action. The last movie list published in New York contained no new offering unqualifiedly condemned as unfit. Quite as important have been several positive actions taken by groups interested in the broader aspects of the problem. We have already noted the formation of the Centrale Catholique du Cinema et de la Radiophonie in France, which proposes to use the radio and films "to place the intellectual, artistic and moral riches of the human patrimony at the disposal of everyone." In England, where Catholic intellectuals are trying to exhibit motion pictures as a medium with the same type of expansiveness as writing, which is no more bound up with ordinary "flicks" than writing is with romantic novels, directed efforts toward improvement are under way. The Catholic Amateur Film Society has been formed to encourage the appreciation of various uses of films and the distribution of good "substandard" reels. A prize has been offered for the best movie on the theme, "The Englishman," and another for the best nature film for classroom showing. In America, the latest *Catholic Educational Review* has an article by Stuart D. Goulding emphasizing the idea that "it does little good to forbid children the movies without providing a substitute. . . . The Catholic child is almost without any recreational resources except his own endeavor, that of his parents, and that provided by the movies." Mr. Goulding believes concerted diocesan action should be taken to adapt various non-Catholic methods of recreation to our own use by infusing into them a Catholic spirit. "If we can't send our children to the movies to keep them from automobile accidents and bad associations, we must lead them where they will be safe."

The Case of Father Hock.—The International Committee for Political Prisoners has concerned itself with the case of the Reverend John Hock, Catholic priest who is now confined to a Budapest prison for having, so the story goes, maligned the Hungarian nation. Years ago Father Hock was renowned as a brilliant preacher; and in accordance with the custom of times before the war, he was a member of the Hungarian Chamber and labeled a "modified liberal." When 1919 came and Count Michael Karolyi was swept into power, Father Hock accepted the honorary position of chairman of the newly formed National Council. At about the same time he declined to become Bishop of Vacz lest his appointment be construed as political. When Karolyi gave way to the revolutionary government of Bela Kun, Father Hock escaped to Vienna; and while there he wrote a series of articles for a liberal newspaper, in one or the other of which he criticized Admiral Horthy. Most of his time was devoted to writing and travel. Some twelve years ago he made a lecture tour through the United States. In 1933, Father Hock, being then seventy-five years of age, decided to return to Hungary in order—as he said—to be buried there. He was immediately seized, brought to trial before a political court, and sentenced to a year in prison for having maligned the Hungarian government. The case was appealed, and for a time Father Hock was set at liberty. Last November, however, the aged priest was again taken to jail and lodged there as a convict. A popular Catholic petition failed to effect his release. He has been very ill, so that he is at present confined to the prison hospital. We give these data as they were received from a respectable source. Everyone who wishes to do so is invited to address a letter of protest to representatives of the Hungarian government in this country.

Liberty an "American Principle."—How seriously has the American government taken its traditional dedication to freedom of conscience? In many parts of the land, where discussion of the Mexican situation rages, newspaper editors appear to think that "interference with other governments" in the form of protests against the treatment accorded minorities is unthinkable. But during the past week Representative Emanuel Celler, of New York, submitted to Congress a list of precedents for such action. In 1850, the State Department instructed the chargé d'affaires at Constantinople to "interpose our good offices in behalf of the oppressed and persecuted race of Jews in the Ottoman dominions." The Minister to Switzerland was counseled, in 1857, to do everything possible to bring about the removal of restrictions placed on Jews in that country. During 1870, steps were taken to protect Christian missionaries in Hawaii. The plight of the Jews in Morocco drew from the State Department a letter dated July 8, 1878. The credentials given to Benjamin F. Peixotto, appointed United States Consul to Rumania in 1870, stated that "the United States, knowing no distinction of her own citizens on account of religion or nativity, naturally believes in a civilization the world over which will secure the same universal views." In 1876, the Spanish government was informed of the interest taken by the United States in "the question of religious liberty." Several indirect protests were delivered to the Russian government by the State Department in behalf of persecuted Jews. That the anti-Semitic movement figures most prominently in this history is not surprising. It was, during the years concerned, virtually the sole form of supression in the name of race and creed.

Clay Pipes.—Fragile peace pipes were smoked in the White House on February 11 by the sixteen members of

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the American Federation of Labor's Executive Council and President Roosevelt. They came together after the unprecedented dispute occasioned by the President's renewal of the Auto Code. William Green stated that the A. F. of L. does not criticize NRA as a law, but is concerned rather with "errors in administration, machinery of administration, procedures followed and interpretations made by those clothed with administrative authority." The Executive Council summed up six recommendations, theoretically the most important being the fourth: "That labor shall have equal representation with industry in the administration of the National Industrial Recovery Act and shall be accorded adequate representation upon all Code Authorities." President Roosevelt read a note in which he said: "I have on a number of occasions urged the necessity as well as the soundness of furthering the principle of collective bargaining as between labor and management. . . . It must be obvious that the best possible result in rehabilitating our economic structure is to be found in the well-organized and highly developed organization of both employees and employers, with their relationship resting upon the foundation of conciliation and arbitration and the full and frank recognition of the unescapable community of interests to be found in industry itself." Meanwhile a new Wagner industrial disputes bill is said to be waiting the passage of the relief and security measures which have precedence in Congress. The A. F. of L. Executive Council looks forward to a law protecting free unions and regulating strikes. Their policy necessitates cooperation with the government.

Newman Clubs Convene.—Two important conventions of the Federation of College Catholic Clubs are to take place within the next two weeks. The Middle Atlantic Province will hold its fourteenth annual convention at Philadelphia, February 22 to 24; it will be attended by delegates from thirteen colleges and universities. A formal reception will be held February 22. The Reverend E. V. Stanford, O.S.A., president of Villanova College, will address the convention and conduct the religious discussion, February 23. The annual Corporate Communion Mass of the province will take place at the Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul, February 24. At the Communion breakfast which follows, Reverend Joseph L. Higgins, S. J., president of St. Joseph's College of Philadelphia, and Justice Harry S. McDevitt will address the delegates. The New York Province will hold its sixteenth annual convention in New York, March 1 to 3. Delegates from the twenty-six Newman Clubs of the province will be in attendance. The convention will open with a formal reception and dance at the Biltmore. At the business meeting at the Hotel Commodore, March 2, Professor Ross Hoffman of New York University will speak on "The Catholic Mind and Modern Politics." The annual corporate Communion will take place at the nine o'clock Mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral, March 3. At the breakfast which follows at the Commodore, Reverend Selden P. Delany, author of "Why Rome," and President Henry Noble MacCracken of Vassar College will address the delegates.

German Mission Work.—One result of the economic and monetary plight of Germany is the threatened collapse of Catholic missionary effort financed by German Catholics. *Junge Front,* organ of the young groups, has published a summary of the situation in various parts of Asia and Africa. The Society of the Divine Word mission in the Philippines is on the verge of ruin. Bishop Walleser, of the Capuchin mission of Tsintschou, China, writes that if help from Germany is cut off, the missionaries must either starve to death or abandon the work. The Apostolic Vicar of Kimberley, South Africa, reports that activity there is in "a very critical condition," closing the missions being only a matter of weeks unless help comes. This failure would also virtually mean the end of German cultural effort in the Kimberley region. Elsewhere in Africa a Prefect Apostolic wrote that the restrictions placed on export of money from Germany had exerted "an almost catastrophic influence on our life and work." He, too, predicted ruin. The White Fathers of Tukuyo, East Africa, are contemplating going back to Germany. From various parts of China come similar, equally discouraging reports. It would be most regrettable indeed if the German missionary, with his enviable record, were forced to abandon the harvest field.

Declining Temperance.—Shortly after the announcement by the New York State Commission of Correction that major crimes had increased 2 percent in the state in 1934, contrary to a downward trend during 1931, 1932 and 1933, the State Liquor Authority announced a conference with the Motor Vehicle Bureau and the Departments of Health, Education, Social Welfare and Taxation and Finance for the working out of some coordinated drive for the promotion of temperance. During the past year arrests for intoxication increased 13.6 percent, although the total number of persons arrested during the year decreased 7.1 percent. The reports from time to time that bootlegging continues to be a major criminal problem, was given explicit illustration in the same week by the raiding of a huge plant in Elizabeth, New Jersey, which was capable of producing from 35,000 to 50,000 gallons of alcohol a day. Investigation had revealed that most of the alcohol was pumped by pipe line to tanker ships and transported up the bay to New York City. The State Liquor Authority indicated that it would extend its function from the mere regulation of the traffic to obtaining and exposing "accurate information as to the conditions in the state in relation to the use of alcoholic beverages, the increase or decrease of drinking among youth, the effect of the excessive use of alcohol on crime and the sale and use of alcoholic beverages in relation to health, to chronic illness, to problems of public education and to motor vehicle traffic." With this reliable information, it is assumed that the various independent social organizations may most effectively reach their members for the promotion of temperance.

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World Finance.—The recent refusal by the United States to become a member of the World Court and the

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retirement in May of the American president of the World Bank led to gloomy predictions emanating from the directors of the bank at Basle, Switzerland. There are now only two American directors of the bank, the retiring president, Mr. Leon Fraser, and Mr. Gates W. McGarragh. Since Mr. McGarragh is no longer in attendance, it is generally felt that the bank will lose all effective American participation. The war debts and reparations, now so completely in abeyance, were the bank's principal reason for existence. The withdrawal of American participation was given further substantiatian by the recent sale in Europe of one-fourth of the 20,000 shares of the World Bank stock held by a New York group led by J. P. Morgan and Company and the First National Bank. That the decline of interest by American financiers in the bank is general is evidenced by the fact that the price commanded by these shares is higher in Europe than in the United States. Second only to this gloom over the increasing intransigeance of American isolation from Europe's tangled troubles, is the fear that was generally expressed for the gold bloc. The British were reported to be unwilling to consider stabilization until the franc came down and the dollar came up and there was talk that because of internal difficulties, England might resort to further devaluation. The strain on the gold countries, France and Switzerland, and especially on Belgium, has been steadily growing, while Italy, even before the Abyssinian developments, has been having a hard time to keep up the value of its currency and government bonds, which dropped sharply at the prospect of war.

Substitutions.—The basis of the administration's relief bill has been an appropriation of $4,880,000,000 to be expended in any way the President should see fit, with the purpose of transferring 3,500,000 men from the dole to paid work. As first submitted to the Senate Appropriations Committee it contained a whole series of paragraphs explicitly freeing the Executive from any hindrances which might imaginably bring worry. In committee, there have been two attacks on the fundamentals of the bill, and numerous shots at the ennabling paragraphs. Right-wing senators tried to cut down the appropriation by $2,000,000,000 and leave it a dole, because "we can stand an annual appropriation of $2,000,000,000 indefinitely if necessary, but we cannot stand $4,000,000,000 a year for a program that may have no end." More important has been the "prevailing wage" controversy, in which all the forces to the Left of the President—which this year appear a much bulkier array than those on the Right—are arguing for normal work as contrasted to work relief. This is an expensive idea, to the government as employer and to private employers, which the administration claims vitiates the whole idea of the original measure. In the original plan, jobs were conceived of as substitutes for ordinary relief, paying workers a monthly income in line with relief budgets. The insurgents think they should be substitutes for private jobs, thus competing with private employment and paying according to the best scales for like work done for private employers.

For Free Institutions.—The Administrative Committee of the National Catholic Welfare Conference has addressed a petition to the two congressional committees which have before them the proposed Economic Security Act, requesting that specific provision be made in the act that private institutions as agencies of relief should not be discriminated against. Declaring that the proposed legislation "should explicitly do justice to every agency that contributes to the public welfare," the petition says, "The President and many other public leaders of the day have appealed time and again for the generous support of the private agency of prevention and relief. The private agency has played an essential part and is today playing an extended and essential part in the actual care of the unemployed, of the aged, of needy mothers, of the sick and injured, of the orphans, of those mentally or physically handicapped. The Administrative Committee of the National Catholic Welfare Conference respectfully requests that this recognized and most laudable work . . . be not further burdened because of any unfavorable interpretation of any of the provisions of the proposed Economic Security Act; but that such legislation make it explicit that no state is prohibited, through acceptance of federal funds, from using as agencies of relief and prevention the private institution, hospital or home." A joint committee of the American Hospital Association, the Catholic Hospital Association and the Protestant Hospital Association has also been urging the same point.

Family Allowances.—During the war the French government paid wages according to the number of dependent children to families with men at the front, according to Professor M. F. Van Goetham of Louvain University in the *Catholic Herald* of London. Then, a number of French industrialists, appalled at the high cost of living but unwilling or unable to pay higher wages generally, began paying additional wages to employees with families. When workers with families began to apply for employment where they could obtain these benefits, general compensation funds began to be set up by all the chief manufacturers of certain areas. This movement eventually spread to Belgium. The Belgian law of 1930 fixed the monthly sums to be paid in addition to regular wages as 15 francs for the first child, 20 for the second, 40 for the third, 70 for the fourth, and 100 for the fifth. It includes all manual and intellectual workers, public office-holders, and those bound to service by contract; in some cases domestic servants are included. These allowances are paid for all children under fourteen, and those between fourteen and eighteen who are attending professional schools or who are apprenticed. In 1930, 250,000,000 francs were paid to 488,440 families to provide for 881,087 children. All employers must subscribe 65 centimes for men and 35 centimes for women for each working day, even though none of his employees have children under fourteen. In 1933, 96,000 out of the 124,000 Belgian employers were complying with the law and their contributions totaled 270,000,000 francs. There is a movement afoot in Belgium today to limit these payments to families with three or more children.

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THE PLAY AND THE OPERA

By GRENVILLE VERNON

Lady Macbeth of Mzensk

IT IS a pity that Dmitri Shostakovich's opera should have received only a single performance in New York. It is a pity, not because of Mr. Shostakovich's music, nor even because of the fact that "Lady Macbeth of Mzensk" is a work approved by the Soviet, but because it shows that a composer who knows how to write for the theatre can still thrill an American audience even though his musical substance is utterly lacking in originality. The music of "Lady Macbeth of Mzensk" evokes the memory of a half-dozen of the composers of an aristocratic or a bourgeois world, and despite its use of peasant material the Soviets can have little reason to feel that they have produced anything new in the way of musical or dramatic art. The score is clever, but clever in purely an eclectic sense, the libretto is founded on a novel by N. S. Leskov, published in 1864. The music is undistinguished, often thin, and very often banal.

Why then its success with a New York audience? It is because the composer knows the theatre through and through, because he chose a libretto which is suited for lyric treatment, and because, poor melodically as much of the music is, it is yet so varied in rhythm and pace that it gives an effect which is beyond its intrinsic merit. The story tells the tale of a woman who murders her step-father, assists in the murder of her husband, and then drowns her rival. The Soviet flavor of this pretty story lies in the fact that the librettists, the composer and A. Preis, apparently sympathize with the murderess, inasmuch as the woman's character has been distorted by her bourgeois upbringing and surroundings. But after all, this doesn't very much matter. The story is vivid and gives ample scope for musical investiture, and this with the fact that the composer realized it and took advantage of it was the cause for the unrestrained applause which greeted it when the Cleveland Orchestra under Artur Rodzinski, assisted by soloists and the chorus of the Musical Art of Russia, Incorporated, presented Shostakovich's opera at the Metropolitan Opera House.

The success of the single performance of "Lady Macbeth of Mzensk" does not mean perhaps that this particular work would at other hearings cause the excitement it aroused at its première, yet its production offers food for thought. It showed that vitality of theme and performance, combined with a keen sense of theatre *qua* theatre, can still bring opera to life. Those who remember the old days at the Manhattan Opera House know that opera can be made exciting even though the works and even at times some of the artists are not of the first rank. The production of this Soviet work under Mr. Rodzinski's direction recalled those far-off nights when Oscar Hammerstein and Cleofonte Campanini created a new public of opera-goers and galvanized many a second-rate work into momentary importance. This is clearly what happened with "Lady Macbeth of Mzensk."

Mr. Rodzinski proved himself a born conductor of opera, a musician of authority and imagination, an artist who is not willing to do things as they have ever been done, but who has the courage to strike out boldly into new paths. Whether the singers who took part were of the first rank it is too early to say, but they were one and all imbued with the spirit of their conductor and gave performances both vocally and histrionically of rare vitality. And Mr. Shostakovich gave a lesson to composers who wish to write for the stage; he showed them that if they are to succeed they must learn the necessities and the demands of the theatre; that dramatic showmanship must go hand in hand with music. (At the Metropolitan Opera House.)

The New Isolde

I HAVE just spoken of the production of a Russian opera by the Cleveland Orchestra, but the Metropolitan Opera Company itself gave later in the week a performance which was equally exciting, at least on the part of the chief female singer—it revealed a new Isolde such as New York audiences have not seen since the days of Olive Fremstad. Indeed Mme. Kirsten Flagstad, vocally at least, has not been equaled since the days of Ternina and Lilli Lehmann. The new Norwegian soprano possesses one of the great voices of all time, a voice in the use of which she is always the artist, a voice equal to the dramatic demands of the most difficult of Wagner's music, and yet one of exquisite lyric quality. Moreover, the taste, the distinction of her singing, her sense of nuance, her command of phrase, is equal to the physical glory of her tones. And given her conception of the part, her impersonation is equally outstanding. She may lack the majestic queenliness of Fremstad, but she makes of Isolde a figure of rare womanliness and charm. Hers is a suffering human being rather than a passionate queen, and yet who shall say which is the real Islode? A great voice and a great artist is again among us. (At the Metropolitan Opera House.)

The Field of Ermine

JACINTO BENAVENTE is a dramatist who has apparently never heard of Ibsen, and the result is that his plays seem absurdly old-fashioned in construction. They are wordy, undramatic, though no doubt true enough to life. But they are not of the theatre of today. "The Field of Ermine" might have gone with a New York audience thirty years ago, but despite the admirable acting of Nedda Harrigan as the courtesan, and the excellent performances of Frances Starr, Clarence Derwent, St. Clair Bayfield and Alma Kruger, it proves today a bore. And in the theatre this is intolerable. Perhaps in the study Benavente's plays may still have interest. It is a pity that such plays as "The Field of Ermine" should be taken from the study. (At the Mansfield Theatre.)

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Books

American Foundations

Our Earliest Colonial Settlements: Their Diversities of Origin and Later Characteristics, by Charles M. Andrews. New York: New York University Press. $2.50.

IN A SERIES of lectures on the Stokes Foundation at New York University, Professor Charles McLean Andrews, the recognized authority on American colonial history, outlined the beginnings of colonization under Raleigh, in Virginia, in Massachusetts, in Rhode Island, in Connecticut and in Maryland with attention to the development of the fundamental characteristics and contributions of the individual colonies to the later American pattern. In printed form, these lectures are a decided contribution to colonial historiography and follow the logical approach to America via England of the seventeenth century. Imperial relations, English administration of colonies, colonial relations with England, and the importation of English ideals, customs, culture and law are stressed, whereas the older American writers studied England from the colonies and the colonies in the light of current patriotic prepossessions. Each colony was a part of the empire, settled by living Englishmen, if not Britishers, and Englishmen who thought and acted much like their stay-at-home contemporaries. National pride does not require a glorification of the sea-dogs, adventurers and colonists with a blind eye to their faults whether they be Anglicans or Calvinists, yeomen or indentured servants. Again Professor Andrews emphasizes the institutional rather than the social and biographical forces. And he is at his best in accurate generalizations based upon a thorough appreciation of colonial history, and a lifetime of laborious and published research.

The account of Maryland as an artificial and belated seignory in America, while not marked in excellence over other chapters, will interest Catholic readers who have seen toleration so stressed that Baltimore and Maryland have hardly been associated with anything else. Maryland, it may be said, has been described in no great history, and, as Professor Andrews insists, its story during the period from 1689 to 1715 challenges the attention of a trained historian who would see the struggle of the people against the lordly, benevolent despot surrounded by an undemocratic ring of his admirers and relatives in its broad aspects. The revived proprietors had the trappings but never the power of the early proprietors with their Calvert-written charter and their hearkening back to the bishop-palatinate of Durham. Democracy gained no foothold in the aristocratic colony. English Catholics gave no warm welcome to Irish Catholics. The Assembly's power was restricted. Baltimore was more of a sovereign over Maryland than even a Stuart was in England. Yet the colony was well enough governed until the middle of the eighteenth century. It is well to remember that Maryland was never a Catholic colony save in a popular sense.

Professor Andrews is quite correct in his statement that "Maryland was settled in 1634 directly from En-

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Next Week

LAW AND THE SUPREME COURT, by John Lorance, is a timely and penetrating analysis of the historic, or traditional, or, judging by past instances, the probable trend of influence of the Supreme Court on the trends of the other two factors in our federal government. The most noteworthy aspect, declares the writer, "is the extreme rarity of the Court's decision nullifying laws through finding them unconstitutional. The Court's average in the 145 years of its existence has been considerably less than one nullification of federal laws in a year. Virtually, up to date, the court has declared acts of Congress unconstitutional in only 63 cases and interpretations and part of others in 67 cases. This is really remarkable in view of the enormous number of laws enacted by Congress in the period, greatly exceeding 50,000." . . . THE VATICAN AND NATIONALISM, by George Seldes, the first part of which appears in this issue, will be concluded in the next. . . . REMEMBERED ROSARIES, by John F. O'Hagan, is another of Mr. O'Hagan's richly colorful and very human annals of simple, strong piety expressed in exceptional manners in diverse places. "I have seen the wood branch of the Cree Indians in Northwest Canada," he writes, "with beads made of dry pods strung on deer hide with crucifix carved from tusk. With the stone branch of the Crees I have observed beads of carefully matched pebbles that had been patiently holed through with bone needles and all held together by dried bird gut while the cross was made from deer horn. Far removed from any church, I have seen stalwart Yaqui Indians, praying before a crude cross on a Sonora hillside with beads of solid gold nuggets." . . . A CHAMPION OF CHRISTENDOM, by Michael Williams, is a tribute to Hilaire Belloc, who has recently come to these shores. It recalls brave things past and envisages the aligning forces in the everlasting struggle.

gland and was designed at the outset as a place of refuge for English Roman Catholics. It represented the culmination of an effort which had begun in Elizabeth's day, to find a home overseas for these persecuted religionists in England. But Maryland was never intended by Sir George Calvert or his son Cecilius to be a place of retreat for Roman Catholics only. In the two vessels, the Ark and the Dove, there were two Jesuit priests, seventeen Roman Catholic gentlemen with their wives, and some two hundred more—handicraftsmen, laborers, servants and others—a majority of whom were Protestants of the Church of England." The insistence upon the term Roman Catholic is noticeable.

In addition to the dissertation subject suggested above, monographs might be written on the decline of Puritanism from 1689 to the Revolution, the ring-rule on the eve of the Revolution, the real causes of the Revolution as far as Maryland was concerned, and the disposal of Tory properties without going into the more fertile field beyond the colonial era. There is much history to be written scientifically—more in some colonies than in New England where much of the debunking is already done.

RICHARD J. PURCELL.

Facts about Jews

We Jews, by George E. Sokolsky. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

IT IS likely that the most offended readers of this book will be Jews. But it is quite certain that the readers who should be moved to anger—against themselves—are Christians. The disheartening facts presented by this truly objective report of the tragic lot of the Jews in the United States prove that Christians are subjecting their Jewish fellow citizens to an economic and social discrimination contrary both to their professions as Christians and as Americans.

Mr. Sokolsky proves clearly, without ranting or recriminations, what most well-informed men and women know and admit freely to each other; but what the newspapers, and the politicians, ignore or deny so glibly: namely, that American Jews are subjected throughout the United States to a policy of exclusion from business and social opportunities, rights and privileges which theoretically are freely open to all men and women belonging (again theoretically) to all citizens. On the other hand, Mr. Sokolsky admits—rather, he affirms, regretfully yet yet most frankly—many of the allegations made against the Jews concerning the unpleasant habits and bad manners of certain mass groups of them. The way in which other Jews "pass," or seek to pass, from their status as Jews to the ranks of their (supposedly) Christian neighbors is also dealt with in a manner which will cause a lot of gossip about many well-known persons and families. The honorable, indeed the highly dignified, place won in early American life by distinguished Jews, and their contributions to the intellectual, professional, political and business life of today, are concisely yet conclusively shown.

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No solution is offered for the tragic problem. The problem, long denied, is simply presented in all its stark and disheartening aspects. Yet if that problem can be solved, in a way consonant with American principles, the first thing necessary to do is to face the facts. And here they are.

MICHAEL WILLIAMS.

Will Conscience Do?

Beyond Conscience, by T. V. Smith. New York: Whittelsey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company. $3.00.

ONE DAY Professor T. V. Smith of the University of Chicago was asked point blank by a colleague where one could find a realistic ethics, that is, "an ethics which stood in its field for what, say, Machiavelli stood in the political field." Professor Smith was unable to give a satisfactory answer. So, after "a sustained discomfort," he decided to elaborate a realistic ethics himself. "Beyond Conscience" is Professor Smith's considered answer to Dr. Merriman's question; a clever

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theology. The comparative success of his work in demonstrating the futility of these efforts is more than counterbalanced by his failure to grasp the significance of metaphysical principles underlying the distinction between good and evil, right and wrong, and the consequent "Ignorantia Elenchi" which renders much of his argument either irrelevant or fallacious. Add to this a contempt for religion and theology, an approval of Santayana's choice of disillusion in preference to Catholicism, an acceptance of the pessimism of Thomas Hardy and a fellow-feeling for the blasphemies of Bertrand Russell, and you will have some idea of what it means to go beyond conscience with Professor T. V. Smith.

An author who wantonly indulges in insults directed against the Christian religion, employs the refinements of his literary talent to satirize the Incarnation of the Word of God and the Redemption of mankind, laughs to scorn in splendid prose the Divine Plan of Creation and calls the God of Love "a haughty Diego Valdez of high heaven" and "a tired tyrant pathetic in satiety," is not one whose views on conscience make for the salvation of morality, but rather for its disruption.

GERALD B. PHELAN.

Mysticism and Progress

Medieval Religion, by Christopher Dawson. New York: Sheed and Ward. $2.00.

ALL TRULY historically minded persons await with the greatest interest the publication of anything from Mr. Dawson's pen. His sociological interpretations have already aroused favorable comment, even from critics like Dean Inge. The present book, although in no sense controversial, helps to correct the dismal but one-sided view of the subject presented in Mr. Coulton's "Five Centuries of Religion." For apparently medieval religion is sorely in need of interpretation. In spite of the work and writings of many sympathetic and accurate scholars (Cardinal Gasquet, Professor Haskins, Mr. Ralph Adams Cram, Dr. Walsh, to name only a few), the average man, Catholic as well as non-Catholic, looks upon the religion of the Middle Ages at their best as rather amorphous and somewhat crude.

Most of us have not realized the steady growth and development of Catholicism from the days of the primitive Church to the magnificent theological synthesis of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Abreast of the latest scholarship, Mr. Dawson rightly emphasizes the influence of the Arabs on medieval philosophy, science and literature. At the end of the four religious essays come two charming chapters dealing with the origins of the romantic movement and with "Piers Plowman."

Particularly interesting to the present reviewer are Dawson's presentation of medieval mysticism in its relation to the troubadour movement, and his depiction of the author of "Piers Plowman" as a champion of orthodoxy and Catholic unity, rather than as a premature Protestant, like his contemporary, Wyclif. The book has only one fault—it is disappointingly short.

DAVID A. ELMS.

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Understanding Japan

Japan in Crisis, by Harry Emerson Wildes. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.00.

THE TITLES of the chapters of this book would seem to suggest the author believes he can disclose the personality of the Japanese by describing the agrarian unrest, the student troubles, the examination system, law enforcement, control of the press, the condition of Korea, the demand for Home Rule by Formosa—and such like subjects. But a real interpretation of a race cannot be achieved by studying their government, or their business practises, both of which are in reality the work of a chosen few. What we learn from this is not the personality of a race, but only the methods and restrictions used by government and business. Hence this volume is not a penetrating and illuminating portraiture of the Japanese, but simply an attempt, extremely well done, by a man who has lived and taught in Japan, to explain how the Japanese officials behave in their working hours, when most of them are under the eye of a vigilant superior.

It is interesting to note that the author in his preface says, "In the individual people of Japan I have the utmost confidence and would trust their honesty, their reliability and their good-will at least as far as I would trust those qualities in any other nation upon earth." This is a view many persons have formed after they have lived in Japan for a few years, which indicates plainly that the rank and file of the race are as any other race, companionable, honest and full of good-will and they should not be saddled with any decline observable in the mentality or morality of the politicians or government and police officials.

The danger spot which this author points out is that the real government of Japan lies now, as in other countries, not in the Diet, but behind the scenes in the control of a small group of trusted officials. On all important occasions it has been the practise to consult with the Genro, but today this body consists of a single personage, Prince Saion-Ji; and thus unless any others are allowed to join this charmed circle it will pass, and its powers or methods of advice to the crown will possibly revert to the court officials, much as the secretaries of the British court by long service become the shrewdest advisers to the crown.

As regards the idea that the Japanese believe themselves unchallengeable and really a superior race, it might mildly be suggested that they are not the sole believers among nations of this misleading idea. The Germans held this view prior to 1914. Too often authors and national leaders forget that truth outside the area of the so-called exact sciences is after all only approximate, from which, if correct, it may be deduced that as our knowledge approaches more definitely to exactitude and becomes more free from errors and antipathies, in deductions, we shall in theory be more truthful. But in applying such standards to other races—Asiatic and African—the necessity for exactness in empirical knowledge of these races becomes more and more important. By such a standard, this book does not add much to our knowledge of the personality of the Japanese.

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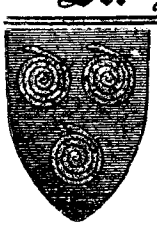
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Briefer Mention

The Lady of the Long Wall; translated from the Chinese by Genevieve Wimsatt and Geoffrey Chen. New York: Columbia University Press. $3.75.

THE "DRUMS SONGS" of pre-Christian China were popular ballads, passed from person to person by word of mouth and lacking the stylistic perfection which scholarship insisted upon. "Meng Chiang Nü," which the present translators feel is the first such song to appear in an English version, tells of a lady whose husband was forced to help build the Great Wall. This, the work of the first Chinese emperor, imposed so heavy a tax of life and money that sentiment endowed the royal slave-driver with a number of inferiorities which may or may not have been his. Was he of low-born origin? The poem says yes. It is a work of quite unusual quality and interest, which reads well in its English form. An introduction and some notes assist the reader. The book was charmingly printed by the Bremer Presse, Germany, and is available only in the present limited edition. It reflects the scholarly, sacrificial interest of American lovers of the Orient.

Leaders of the Victorian Revolution, by J. W. Cunliffe. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. $3.00.

PROFESSOR CUNLIFFE'S book is characteristic of him. It is fluently written and is based upon conscientious study; it lacks anything that might be termed a striking or original point of view. The outlook is United States university, still based on confidence in the theory of progress. An effort is made to be generous and fair to divergent points of view, but this attempt always halts at the frontiers of the author's own mind. "To most Americans and most Englishmen, Newman's attitude seems a futile attempt to hark back to the Middle Ages," he says at the end of a liberal interpretation. Quite apart from the matter of counting heads—which Professor Cunliffe probably didn't complete—one's conclusion would be that "most Americans and most Englishmen" are rather muddled. In so far as Newman went back at all, it was not to the Middle Ages but to the Fathers.

CONTRIBUTORS

GEORGE SELDES is the author of "The Vatican, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow."

SHANE LESLIE is the author of "George IV," "The End of the Chapter" and other books.

BAYARD O. WHEELER is a professor in the department of economics in the University of California, Berkeley, Calif.

ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN, professor of English at Wells College, is a poet and essayist. His latest book is "Lost Paradise."

EDWARD WARD is a new contributor to THE COMMONWEAL.

SARA HENDERSON HAY is an Alabama poet.

RICHARD J. PURCELL is professor of history in the Catholic University of America.

REV. GERALD B. PHELAN is professor of philosophy in St. Michael's College, Toronto, Canada.

DAVID A. ELMS is an instructor in history and languages.

BOYD-CARPENTER is attached to the faculty of the School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University.

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